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THE PHILANTHROPIST.

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For the Philanthropist.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CLINTON COUNTY.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—Although not officially required, by our appointment as the central committee of the Liberty party of Clinton county, to prepare an address to you, the circumstances of the present time, and exigencies of the future, impel us to offer a few remarks for your consideration. The necessity for this in degree, we may suppose entirely, is superseded by the address the Liberty convention recently held in Columbus. To that document we referred in the resolutions adopted at our county meeting, February 21st; as containing our principles; upon some of the subjects therein discussed, and upon other and kindred topics, we desire to confer with you in our own style and manner. The existence of slavery in our country, is the cause of our separating from the parties which now include the great mass of our fellow-citizens. To that system which reduces human beings to the condition of chattels, we, as individuals, proclaim our eternal and active hostility, politically as well as morally, let us locate here in what portion of the Union it may, for its influences can never be local. Without such hostility, we could lay no claim to address you as republicans, and christians.

After the preliminary observations, we proceed to show you first; *Why we are in the field as a political party for the overthrow of slavery*, and then what measures we propose to advocate for its accomplishment. Could we divest ourselves of all belief in those moral precepts which teach the duty of man to his neighbor, the instinct of self-preservation alone would compel us to assume our present position in politics. We look upon our country as she is—unexampled in her natural resources, abounding in all the elements of prosperity, which need only the labor of man for their development, without an over-abundant population, with political institutions faithfully administered, *at sitting comparative cost*; and yet, suffering under a pressure of pecuniary difficulties, involving the nation as well as most individuals, and with no rational prospect of a speedy change for the better. For this gloomy state of affairs there must be a cause, and that cause must be a different one from those variously assigned by interested politicians, and heated partizans, since none of their attempted remedies have yet had the least tendency to alleviate the general distress. That slavery is the cause, we believe, because the natural and unavoidable tendency of the institution is to render labor disreputable, and consequently to accumulate upon the soil where it exists, a greater number of consumers than the producers of wealth can support—Secondly, because the statistics of our country, so far as they are published, prove the fact that the Southern portion of our Union, where slavery exists, falls in debt annually to an immense amount to the non-slaveholding portion, which debts never will, for they never can, be cancelled. The amount of the drainage of the North, for the support of the aristocracy of the South in idleness and luxury, is variously estimated at from 50 millions, to 100 millions of dollars annually. Let us not be supposed extravagant in setting it down at the larger amount. A sober calculation will show us that this is probably within the truth. We find by the census tables of 1840, that the population of the slaveholding States is, in round numbers, about even millions of souls. Of these we will assume that three millions, (rather within the mark) are slaves, leaving four millions of free persons. Let us then suppose that only the half of these, or two millions, are so influenced by the existence of slavery as to decline to labor for their own support, and that, we think all who are acquainted with the state of society at the South, will admit to be a moderate estimate of their numbers. From the habits of extravagance natural to those who spend what others earn, we may suppose two hundred dollars per annum to be a low estimate for the expenses of the individuals composing these two millions. Here then is an annual *sum* of four hundred millions of dollars, to be produced for the support of those who do nothing for themselves. Now let us see by calculation, if it be possible for the slaves after supporting themselves, to earn this enormous sum. Out of three millions of slaves, let us suppose two-thirds, or two millions, are effective laborers.* After supplying their own wants and those of a million unlaborious slaves, (so far as they are supplied) we will average their individual additional earnings at one hundred and fifty dollars per annum; thus we see they produce three hundred millions for non-producers. What is there unreasonable, or erroneous, in any of the assumptions of this calculation? It may be said that admitting its correctness, it does not prove that the deficit of one hundred millions, comes from the non-slaveholding states. For evidence in support of this opinion, we refer you to the statistics of certain portions of our country, which have been published on the best authority. From these it appears that Lynn, a small town in Massachusetts, engaged in the shoe trade alone, has lost in a very short period of time three millions of dollars by her commerce with the South.—Newark in New Jersey, in her harness, carriages, &c., shipped to the same region, has been a loser to a great amount. The debts due at the South to the city of New York alone, and which it is admitted can never be collected,

* The slave population is 2,400,000—The number of the slave-laborers cannot be more than 2,000,000.—ED. PAUL.

are estimated at one hundred millions of dollars. From the nature of the case, absolute certainty cannot be arrived at in these estimates, but enough is known to make our calculation above, appear quite within the bounds of probability, when the business of the whole country is taken into view. In our investigations into this subject, we must bear in mind that the principal market for, and consumption of the surplus products of labor of the free states, is at the South, and that a large proportion of the business of the country must necessarily be conducted upon the credit system. By coupling these facts, we perceive how extensive is the opportunity for the people of that section of the country, to obtain our goods and afterwards to refuse to pay for them. Should any imagine this too gross an imputation upon the integrity of slaveholders, we beg such to consider, that our accusation falls far short of the facts proclaimed by their own laws, which institute a licensed system of plunder, and robbery, with many other enormities added thereto. Integrity of character among them would be a miracle under the teachings of their institutions. It would be the height of folly to expect honesty from them in their dealings with us, when we perceive they not only rob their neighbors, and that continually, but many of them are known to sell their own flesh and blood for gain.

Here then is a cause independent of a depreciated currency, of the absence of a tariff, and a consequent balance of trade against us, which will in a great degree account for our pecuniary sufferings. But we think it not impossible to shew, that to the existence of slavery, may fairly be attributed the absence of a sound currency, and of a protective tariff, principally relied on by one set of politicians to account for the "hard times," and the creation of a host of responsible banks, and of a speculating, overtrading mania in the community, assumed by the politicians of the other party, to be the root of all the mischief. It will render this communication too long to enter at present, into a consideration of the evidence which sustain us in this opinion; suffice it to say, that the control which the slaveholding aristocracy has exercised for the last twenty years, if no longer, over all the operations of the general government, has been as complete as it is notorious.

It will be found by an examination into the tendencies of domestic slavery, that it diverts labor into a few channels, producing a large amount of certain great staple articles for sale, and that slave labor cannot profitably be employed in common agricultural operations.—As a consequence of this tendency, we find the slave labor in our country, principally employed in the culture of cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice, and the rearing of human flesh for the slave markets, to the neglect of provisions, clothing and such mechanical appurtenances as are necessary. For a supply of these, the master depends upon the free laborer of the north, to whom he sells in return but a small portion of his staple productions, and these at least, cotton, and sugar, under the protection of a high tariff. Hence a diversity, even a conflict of interests, is created in our country, by the existence of slavery. It is the interest of the slaveholder at all times, to depress the value of the products of free labor of which he is purchaser. Having the control of the government, by means of the representation permitted to property in the form of slaves, the aristocracy first protect their own staples, by a tariff, then through the diplomacy of the country in foreign lands, make every effort to introduce the articles produced by their own system of labor, at the lowest possible rate of duties, while they actually endeavor to shut out the productions of free labor, from all ingress into foreign markets, that they may purchase what they need of them, at their own prices at home. While Mr. Stevenson, our late Minister to England, labored assiduously to obtain, and succeeded in procuring a reduction of duty upon Southern rice, entering the ports of Great Britain, he gave his influence against the repeal of the corn laws, which shut out our bread stuffs from the consumption of the starving operatives of their kingdom. A special agent was sent at the cost of the nation, to negotiate for the introduction of tobacco at a lower rate of duties into Germany, at the bidding of the tobacco planters convention of Maryland, and Mr. Jenifer who was president of that convention, is sent as minister to Austria, avowedly for the furtherance of the same object.—Farmers of Clinton! can you point to a single effort made to open a market for your wheat and pork? The staple productions of the free states, including your own, many times more valuable in the gross, than the whole of the productions of the South, receive no attention from government to secure them a good market, but on the contrary, its agents are actually found to be laboring to diminish their value. It would consume too much space, to enter fully into an enumeration of all the adverse bearings which slavery has upon our pecuniary interests, and we are compelled to notice them only with a passing remark. We would call to mind, in addition to this, its direct influence, upon the value of the products of our labor; the amount it costs us as a nation, to sustain it by a standing army, to suppress insurrections, to hunt under the dignified appellation of the Florida war, the runaway negro who shall escape to the everglades of that peninsula, and the prospective increase of expenditure, to fit out and maintain a Home squadron, to protect the coast-wise slave trade from our Capital, and that of the “ancient dominions,” to the South west.

Can any doubt that the emancipation of the slaves would remove our pecuniary difficulties? Change the two millions of consumers whom we now have to assist the slaves to support in idleness, into producers, and the free labor of the north is at once relieved from an annual tax, which we have shown to be in all probability one hundred millions of dollars. Reduce the expenses of the government, the amount which they expend to continue the negro in bondage, and you strike off an annual tax upon our resources, of from ten to twenty millions more. Employ the diplomacy of the government, in the effort to open foreign markets to the reception of free grown products.—Last, but not least, change the three millions of slaves, now permitted but a bare subsistence, into customers, privileged to consume in the purchase of our products, such a proportion as they

may please of their earnings, and the cry of "hard times," will be banished from our happy country for centuries to come.

We may next consider the political results to ourselves, of the existence of slavery in a portion of our country. Although professing to be republicans, and as such, the enemies of slavery wherever it may exist, we find ourselves in the inconsistent position, that should the slaves of the South rise in insurrection, our services may constitutionally be brought into requisition to sustain slavery, and to fight against those who strike for freedom! Not content to make us passive sufferers by the aggression upon our interests above hinted at, this institution demands of us to sustain by our blood and treasure, the system which destroys our prosperity and from which, supposing it did not, we could derive no possible advantage! We who hold in truth and verity, "that all men are born free and equal," stand as armed sentinels to prevent the adoption and enjoyment by others, of the first principle in our political creed! As a reward for such subservience, we find that however free and equal we may have been born, the same power which has placed us in this inconsistent position, denies to us an equality of privileges in the government of our country. Our professed republic, when examined, turns out to be a government constituted by a privileged order—an aristocracy by the Constitution.—Will any deny this? Look at that provision of the constitution which bases the representation in Congress, and through it, the electoral vote for President, on a certain class of population, and "three-fifths of all other persons." One portion of the people deprives another portion of the exercise of our rights, natural as well as political, and then claims to itself, and exercises political power, upon the strength of this iniquitous proceeding, and our government sanctions the claim! If this be a republic, we confess we do not understand what is meant by the term. The aristocracy of the South have now twenty five votes in Congress, and for President of the United States, in virtue of their peculiar privileges, and this number, under the daily expected new apportionment bill will be increased. It is by their possession of these peculiar privileges, that the South has been enabled to give us our President, for 40, out of 52 years—to engross the principal offices of the country—to appoint slaveholders, chiefly, as foreign ministers—to pervert the legislation of the country into a protection to slave, and prostration of free labor—to subvert the same end by our foreign diplomacy, and in fine, to promote the interests of the aristocracy, by every species of oppression of the people until the country is on the verge of ruin. It were tedious to enumerate the various grievances under which we suffer, through the influence of this accursed system. The right of petition guaranteed to us by the Constitution, basely denied us, and our own representatives especially selected as a candidate because he was believed to be favorable to the right, and in possession of the confidence of anti-slavery men, sustaining occasionally by his votes, the unrighteous deed—thus dishonoring while he misrepresents the district—that provision of the same instrument, which declares that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states," practically nullified—the attempt boldly, and in many instances successfully made to control the legislation of the free states—the corruption of the morals of the people, by which through the agency of mobs, and otherwise, the security to life and property is daily lessening—the prevailing and increasing profligacy in the management of private affairs, which has extended to, and has strongly marked the conduct of our public officers—these are a few of the prominent evils under which we suffer, from its wide, prevailing influence.

But it is time we approached the consideration of the measures we propose to advocate, in the accomplishment of our object. Many of these are set forth in the address of the Liberty convention, assembled at Columbus, already alluded to. We incline to the belief, that to reform radically the administration of the general government, to bring it back into harmony with the principles upon which it was formed, and the intention of its founders, would be to strike a death blow at slavery in the States, and the people thereof would be compelled to emancipate. Thus we should get rid of the political and pecuniary evils of which we complain. But should these means fail to secure our object, we would go a step further than is proposed by the authors of that address. We hold with Mr. Madison, that under the clause of the constitution, which authorizes Congress to "provide for the common defence and promote the general welfare," that body possesses power to abolish slavery in the several States. That patriotic Statesman, a slaveholder himself, and termed by the country at large, "the Father of the Constitution," used the following unequivocal language, in the first Congress under the Constitution May 13th 1789. "It is a necessary duty of general government to protect every part of the empire against danger, as well internal, as external. 'Every thing therefore, which tends to increase this danger; though it may be a local affair, yet if it involves national expense, or safety, becomes of concern to every part of the union, and is a proper subject for the consideration of those charged with the administration of the government.'" We presume there are none who will be so weak, as to deny with the late Gen. Hayne of South Carolina, that slavery does weaken the Union.

"affairs weaken the Union, although a 'local safety'—that it endangers the "national safety." We have already shown that it involves an enormous national expense, and consequently, by the authority just quoted, Congress has the power to abolish it. We do not feel sure that a reform of the Government will effect what we desire, and need, without this step, and hence we advocate it. We know that many associated with us in the enterprise of reform, so far as proposed in the address of the Columbus convention, and those of high authority, will repudiate this doctrine. The majority of them will deny the expediency of its promulgation, but we cannot consent to compromise principles, to obtain numerical strength. Nor is this the extent to which we are prepared to advance. Failing through the interposition of the Supreme Court, or otherwise to effect our designs by these means, we holdy proclaim

our readiness to procure by revolution, what we cannot accomplish by reform. Let none startle at this, and proclaim as rebels, until they have examined our position. The sages who formed the constitution of the United States, we far too wise to suppose that they had brought their instrument to absolute perfection, and suited it to the government of this people through all time, and under all circumstances. Accordingly we find they they have have provided means within the government for revolution, peacefully, and bloodlessly, (by which means only could we permit ourselves to operate) whenever the exigencies of the people denounce it. If then the constitution *as it is*, will not accomplish those ends for which, as republicans, we are ever to labor, it becomes our imperative duty to labor for the reform of the constitution itself. To this length, every consideration of self-interest, of republicanism, of morality and virtue, impel us,—to this length, if compelled, we own ourselves prepared to go, and to this extent will the liberty party find it self obliged to proceed, should it fail in procuring universal emancipation within our borders without it.

If we exercise the elective franchise and political influence at all, we are bound by all the principles to which we have just referred, to use every peaceful means permitted by the constitution, to effect the overthrow of slavery.—The “implied faith,” so much talked about as forbidding this course, we have no faith even had an existence. We believe the public sentiment of the nation at the time of the formation of the constitution, demanded the speedy abolition of slavery, and that that instrument was formed in conformity to such sentiment. But supposing it were otherwise—supposing the compromise with slavery were fairly written upon the face of that document; we could never feel to be bound by such a compromise.—We felt compelled under such circumstances, as we do feel compelled under the present, to assert particularly the right proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, for men to choose their own form of government. We wish therefore to declare emphatically, that although slavery should cease to interfere with our pecuniary interests—with the safety of our persons, and property—with our privileges of universal citizenship—with our right to petition for redress of grievances—and with the cause of virtue and good morals among ourselves, we can never consent to a form of government, which gives to any of our fellow citizens, privileges which we do not possess, or takes from others, the rights and privileges which we enjoy. In this enterprise we are not governed by sectional feelings. The great mass of what is termed the free population of the South, suffer an oppression infinitely beyond our own. To them, free thought, and as they have been appropriately, termed, the signs of this, free speech, and a free press, are totally interdicted.

We have the power to struggle to free them, and ourselves, from the odious shackles with which we are bound. They at the present, are in a thralldom too binding, to permit the first effort to escape. The emancipation of the negro race, will prove at the same time, emancipation to millions of our own color.

Fellow citizens, you have now before you a brief sketch of the evils we propose to reform, (having left nearly out of view our moral obligation towards the suffering negro race), and of the principles which govern us in the attempt. Thus far we have the name of but one man to propose to you in connection with our enterprise, **LEICESTER KING**, of Trumbull county, our candidate for Governor. Of him a man, and as a politician, we have nothing to say—he has heretofore been in your service—judge of him and know him for yourselves. It is to our principles, before they are connected with the choice of men, that we are anxious to call your attention. Examine them with the closest scrutiny, condemn if you will, but if you approve, come up to our assistance, and aid us to bring the struggle which is to return to us the blessings of prosperity and happiness, through the practice of virtue, to a triumphant and speedy close. We shall surely be under the necessity of selecting candidates to represent these principles in Congress, and the state legislature. We ask your assistance in making the choice.

A. BROOKE,
THOS. HIBBEN,
AB'M. ALLEN,

Clinton co. Ohio, March 2nd 1842.

It will be perceived the above was written in the form on address of the committee.— Several members of said committee hesitating to "sign it on account of some doubt as to the constitutional opinions expressed or the expediency of publish ing them, we offer it to our fellow citizens of the county and the friends of Liberty every where as the expression of our sentiments as individuals.

A. B.
T. H.
A. A.

March 26th, 1842.

For the Philanthropist.
To the Secretaries of the American Board of
Comm. for Foreign Missions.

GENTLEMEN:— A few weeks since you forwarded to the New York Observer for publication, a letter from J. L. Wilson, one of your missionaries in Africa, received nearly six years ago, informing you that he was a slaveholder, and that some of his missionary friends were similarly situated. A number of circumstances connected with this publication will make it painfully interesting. Many of the friends of missions are grieved by the course pursued by the Boards of the General Assembly. Some of them were turning their eyes to the American Board as their only hope. Replies to repeated inquiries by private letters and religious papers, and particularly, the announcement lately made that the Board sustains no relation to slavery which implies approbation, had inspired the hope that their contributions would not be used in sustaining slaveholding missionaries. But that hope is dashed by this public declaration. For six years you have known that one of your missionaries is a slaveholder, and that you have his word for it, that others are similarly situated. To make the an-

nouncement more striking to those friends of universal liberty whose inquiries have been so unfortunate for some years past, you say that—"till within a few weeks when a number of enquiries have been made on the subject to which the letter relates, there seemed to be no call to make use of it." Of course inquiries to constitute a call, must come from the respectable side of the great question.

In reference to Mr. Wilson's information, that some of his brethren are slaveholders, you remark that if this be a fact you were not aware of it. You surely did not intend to tell the world that you have so little confidence in the veracity that, when he lodges the information with you, in his own hand writing, and over his own signature, there is still no presumption that it is true, and therefore you do not think it worth while to ask for other names as proof. The remark was obviously intended to quiet those recent inquirers, by assuring them that you are so far from being unfriendly to the "peculiar institution," that even when a respectable informer tells you that some of your missionaries are slaveholders, you look up the information in your drawer, and never think of it for six years; and even when you must notice inquiries, the reply will be—"we were not aware of it. A poor compliment to the informer; but very satisfactory, no doubt to some inquirers."

It was a matter of course that the letter should appear in the Observer. According to a late statement by the editor, that paper has an unusually extensive circulation in the South. His readers will bear him witness, that the letter could not have been put into better hands than to convert it into capital for securing Southern favor. Accordingly it is published under the following caption.—*A Slaveholding Missionary.* Then follows the information that it was intended for the correction of certain editors, &c. who have been troublesome to the Board; and especially to "assist those who are inquiring whether or not it is a sin in all cases to be the owner of slaves." The patriarchs will be very unreasonable, if they are not satisfied with the standard of morals adopted by the editors and the Board, when they are assured that you wish all who have not made up their minds to be guarded by the example and apologies of a slaveholding missionary.

With full knowledge of the fact that Mr. Wilson was holding a number of Africans in chains as his property, under laws which forbid their enjoyment of the means of salvation, you employed him as a missionary, and selected Africa as the sphere of his operations. Surely that is the best spot on earth where such a man should dare to be seen. How did you expect him to face, as a minister, those mothers and widows in that region whose husbands had been shot down, in the light of their blazing villages, and whose children were plucked from their mother's breasts by American pirates, to satisfy the demand among American ministers and christians for human property? How did you instruct him in reference to this matter? Was he to deny an attempt to connect his own agency in this nefarious business, at the hazard of being detected and exposed? Or was he to tell them honestly that he left behind him in chains, shut out from the light of God's salvation, as many of their children and friends as the laws of the land had put in his power? And did you expect the apology which you have published for the edification of the churches on this continent, to be equally satisfactory, to the bereaved mothers and widows in Africa?

But let me hear his apology. The amount of it is,—Part of his slaves were obtained by inheritance, or, to use his own expression, they were indicted on him 20 years before he was born; the rest by marriage—they were not emigrants, and the laws forbid their emancipation on the soil. But the proceeds of their labor for three years is to be laid up for them as an inducement to them to leave, and this prospect of being free will prepare them for freedom—he cannot think of carrying them away to liberty in chains—and as to giving them a certificate of their freedom, where they may be in danger of being sold into slavery, the very thought of it quite overcomes him. He says—"could I ever forgive myself, if I should knowingly, cause them to be torn forcibly and violently from every thing they hold dear on earth, and placed in the power of a master who might treat them with merciless harshness."

The first thing which strikes us in this apology, is, that it is the discovery, that it is one of the ways of the Holy One to place his children (and some times 20 years before they are born) in circumstances which compel them to sin against God, and to injure their neighbors both in their temporal and eternal interests! We do not wish to be severe. But there is something so originally wicked in this, that we cannot but think that the Evil One must have invented it, for the special behoof of some slaveholding master who had just made up his mind that he could never repent. A little child moves this God-ward, and is made known to sin. And every man of common sense knows that all the wicked law-makers in the world, and all the devils in hell combined together, cannot force a christian to be guilty of slaveholding, or drunkenness, or murder, or any other transgression, provided they have grace enough in their hearts "to resist unto blood striving against sin."

But it is insisted that he was in peculiar circumstances, and that the welfare of his slaves requires that he should keep the chains riveted on them. We care not what his circumstances were, nor how peculiar. It is a precious sample of slaveholding theology, that the question whether it is right to displease God by injuring our poor neighbors, even to the taking away of all their personal rights, and the ordinary means of their souls' salvation, is a mere question of expediency to be decided by our circumstances, and the amount of good to be done by it. We are determined to keep cool. We shall only therefore say, that if you send out all your missionaries to heathen lands, furnished for their work, with such theology as this, you need never be afraid of losing any of them by martyrdom.

Let us see what would be the appalling consequences, were he to give his slaves a certificate of their freedom on the soil. He tells us they would immediately be in danger of being taken up and sold into slavery. True, and then they would be precisely in the same comfortable con-

dition in which their present master left them when he went to Africa. Ah! but *they might fall into the hands of bad masters.* 'There's no danger. Their present master assures us that he uses them well; and no doubt, his successor could tell the same story. But if his successor should say so, when he is living some thousand miles distant from them, without the possibility of knowing how they are used, it would be rather provoking. Let us suppose then that if sold, they would fall into the hands of a master of the worst kind—one who, after seeing them stripped of all the rights and privileges which distinguish men from brutes, and Christians from heathen, puts them under the care of an overseer, and then removes himself to another hemisphere, where their cries can never reach him, where he can never count the stripes inflicted for not fulfilling their cruel tasks, nor count the lashes on their bare backs, when the laws of the land meet out to them, every time they are caught reading the scriptures, or hearing the gospel preached by a minister whose authority was not certified by the driver. Let us suppose that in consequence of hearing in that distant land that the *peculiar institution* is in danger, he writes home a letter to confound its opposers, and that the substance of it is that he is a slaveholder himself, and that he holds his slaves that they may have a good master. Let us suppose also that the friends to whom he sends this letter for publication, lock it up for six years as a piece of thunder which is to be used only on some great emergency, and that at length they bring it forth accompanied with the mild assurance that they intended to use it only in setting certain editors, &c., right, and as an assistant to young inquirers. This would indeed be not only bad, but absolutely insufferable.

We are told that if the slaves were emancipated on the soil, they would not only be exposed to public sale, but "forcibly and violently torn from all that they hold dear on earth." And where would they be taken to? If to another slave state it would not change their condition as it regards either personal rights, or religious privileges. But perhaps, unless a minister should get hold of them, they might be removed to some free state, where they would cease to be held as brutes, and where they might become heirs of God's salvation. And, no doubt, that would break the hearts of more masters than one. Not that our missionary has any repugnance to the idea of Africans getting to heremitage. But then the thought of violence! Twenty year's residence in a slave state has satisfied us, that slavemasters have a peculiar abhorrence of violence towards their slaves, when it might change their present condition, or their prospects for eternity. The standing apology for their absence from family worship, and the house of God on the Lord's day is,—they will not attend unless we use violence." Yet we noticed that they easily succeeded in getting them to the tobacco patch, or cotton field, by that affectionate reasoning, and mild persuasion, for which drivers have a peculiar talent. Mr. Wilson thinks that to get his slaves into a free state, "it would be necessary that their hands and feet should be fastened with iron fetters and carried, as their fathers were from Africa." Well, it would be a rare sight. And we say as Cowper said of another sight; "May I be there to see?" We imagine the road lined with slaveholders with their white handkerchiefs, weeping at the sight of men in chains, playing "Hail Columbia," on their way to freedom. But we are charitable enough to believe that his statement is true. We have long known that even some slaves who have ministers for their masters, are systematically so educated and trained, that with all their innate love of liberty, and notwithstanding that the slave system is crushing them to the dust, it sears them to think of being in a country where there is no slavery to protect people! His statement disposes us to give credence to the story of a late pilgrim to Canada, that in his neighborhood, the black people, to prevent them from running away, are daily told by their master and mistress, that if they are found beyond the protection of slave laws, the "French people" will kill them and eat them like frogs.

But it appears that separation from the soil, irrespective of the means, is an insuperable difficulty in the way of their emancipation. He says they prefer bondage on their native soil to freedom in other parts of the world. We admit that attachment to one's native land, is sometimes very strong. And we are prepared to tell Mr. Gurley, that black people have as good a right as white people to say where they will live, and where their bones shall lie when they are dead. But how long does Mr. Wilson intend to live? Does he not know that at his death, his successor can take them where he pleases. Nay he assures you that removal from all they hold dear on earth, to some part of the world where liberty, in their estimation is worse than bondage on their native soil, shall not be postponed till his death. He intended to do it himself within three years from the date of his letter. His plan is, in substance this—as a means of preparing them for freedom, he intends to keep back every cent of their wages for three years. At the end of that term he intends to take a bag filled with dollars by robbing them and their children, and shake it at them, and banter them to leave all they hold dear on earth, and go out not knowing whither, to some land that he shall show them. But perhaps he can so manage it, that his heart will not be broken by witnessing such a painful separation from their native soil, and perhaps something will turn up which will compel him to keep the bag himself. You recollect that the contingency of their fitness for freedom, is to come up; (a word to the wise is &c.) and on the other hand, you must recollect that he gives us good reason to hope, that they will be able to *pass muster*, for the means which he is employing to produce a regenerating influence on the character of Africans, is such as has not antiquated means long since banished as hurtful from the neighbourhood of slaves, such as the spreading of evil scriptures &c., but the daily sight of a few dollars gotten by robbery of the poor, and constant appeals to their covetousness. Would if their master has ever had any experience of their power—and whether they would have a salutary influence on the Africans around Cape Palmas.

Did either of you, gentlemen, ever enquire how he succeeded in this plan? You recollect it was to have liberated all his slaves three

years ago. Perhaps it has been successful. Perhaps they are all now living in some region where poor men can read the Bible, and live with their wives and children, and enjoy the fruit of their labors. No; as men of sense, you know too much of human nature when possessed by the slaveholding spirit, to spend one moment in inquiring about it. It then you knew that he had never fulfilled his promise, or if you really never had enough of confidence in that promise to inquire about its fulfillment, we ask—was it worthy the Secretaries of the venerable American Board, to insult an intelligent community by publishing such a thing, as an antidote to abolition, and as a guide to all inquirers?

Mr. Wilson closes his letter by saying—"if a different plan is suggested, I shall not be slow to comply." And could not the collected wisdom of the Board, after six years to reflect, furnish a better one? We shall now furnish a very different one, and we think, far better. Just write to him, that this thing of trying to save the souls of Africans by publishing the gospel on one continent, and at the same time killing the souls of Africans, by keeping them in chains and darkness on another continent, will not do. Let him remove them not violently, but as gently, as they have been taken to their tasks every day for six years, to some spot out of the limits of slavery. Then let him confess his sin, both against God and them. Then, after assuring them that they are free, let him divide among them the bag containing their just wages for 3 years from the date of his letter, and the 3 that have since elapsed, and the wages of as many other years as he, in the sight of God, believes they are entitled to. And if he should then all rush for the South, with hearts panting for the blessings of slavery, perhaps the yelping of the blood hounds in pursuit of them who are rushing the other way, will frighten them back. And at any rate you can then tell our churches, and he can tell it in Africa that he has no connection with Liberia, not only, but also, that he is not a missionary slaveholder. And then when he opens his bible to preach, he will not be so scared, when it flashes in his face, the doom of the oppressor and man-stealer.

We close this communication, already too long, with one serious question. May not the course the Board has been pursuing in reference to the heaven-daring sin of slaveholding, have some connexion with its embarrassment in regard to funds? You perhaps remember that at less than one year from the day that the Assembly's Board of reduction publicly announced that they would help no candidate for the ministry who would publicly oppose slavery, there was a great cry, that the Lord was withholding from them the pious youth. Have we not reason to fear, that unless we repent, he will visit us with worse embarrassment?

Respectfully &c.,
S. CROTHERS.

P. S. We must say what, when we closed, we had determined not to say. Abolitionists in this region have been grieved that their Eastern brethren talk of organizing a separate missionary society. But your course has removed all their objections. They cannot contribute to the support of missionaries who defend, or are living in, the sin of slaveholding.

For the Philanthropist.
LIBERTY PARTY.
Loydsdale, April 3, 1842.

Dr. BAILEY:—

There are two points to which I would respectfully but earnestly call the attention of the friends of Liberty.

First, the basis of the organization of every party. If I understand these matters aright there is an essential difference between the basis or foundation principle of the Liberty Party, and that of the Anti-slavery organization. The basis of Abolition is the wrongs of the negro through slavery. Abolition incidentally considered the encroachments of slavery on the rights of the white man, but his wrongs are not the real cause of action. Abolition is charitable—is philanthropic. It consults the welfare of others; while it is only willing to be benefited itself, if other's wrongs, the wrongs of the negro are at the same time redressed. In all this, abolition is noble, God-like. The Liberty Party proceeds on another, a more selfish principle. It views slavery chiefly as it affects the white man. The power which puts it in motion is self-interest. It may prefer that the condition of the slave should be bettered, but it sits not for him. It seeks the welfare of the white race, and in doing this it asks all men to judge candidly, and would not allow hatred to the black race to draw down unmitigated curse upon ourselves.

The baneful influence of slavery upon the currency, upon our commercial interests, upon manufactures, upon the power of the country to defend itself against foreign aggression—its war upon free labor and the respectability of industry—its seizing on the offices and the government of the country—its unequal distribution of the public funds—its gags, mobs, and murders—its robbery of the North by bankruptcy and the tremendous expense of keeping its victims under the yoke by negotiations, Indian wars, and threatened wars with England, Mexico &c. These and a thousand other like topics are the proper subjects for the consideration of the Liberty Party, but they all centre in the welfare of the white man. The negro's peck of corn, a week, his stripes and the sundering his family are legitimate subjects for the discussion of the Liberty Party man, only in so far as they may be known to be prejudicial to the interests of the white man.

The abolitionist goes out to redeem the negro: the Liberty man stands up in self defence, and declares self-preservation to be the first law of nature. These distinctions it seems to me are radical and important and should be preserved. Many may enlist under one banner that would not under the other. Let the man of large benevolence have a fair field in the Anti-slavery cause, let him of more contracted and selfish views know that slavery is robbing him and trampling his best interests in the dust; and if the result shall prove that an enlightened self-interest and a true and enlarged benevolence will lead men to precisely the same acts of humanity, we should not drop a tear over the result, and the believers in the wisdom and goodness of God should rejoice.

The other point to which I would call the attention of the friends of liberty is, that they be careful of the phraseology which they use. Their words should convey their ideas. Too many of us are in the habit of using the word South, when we mean slavery. There are comparatively but very few slaveholders in the South. On a moderate calculation there are five slaves to one slaveholder. It is not these unfortunate slaves that are robbing the North and plunging us in war: it is only their masters. The whites of the South who do not hold slaves are probably five times as numerous as the slaveholders. These whites are not usurping the government to our injury and ruling the country to its utter destruction, or if they are aiding in it, they do it ignorantly, and the responsibility is wholly on the slaveholder.

ers, and on them it should be. Of the poor non-slaveholders of the South we should speak with pity and respect and should manifest an earnest desire to aid in redressing the numerous and most afflictive wrongs which they suffer at the hands of slaveholders. The minds of these people are truly dark, but not so clouded as to be wholly incapable of receiving impressions of self interest, and by a proper and just course they may be taught to know that slaveholders are their worst enemies. It is certainly impolitic and unjust to denounce these men with slaveholders, under the general appellation of the South. Let us rather strike them out friends; they are strong enough to out pull the masters at the elections, and put slavery down by the majesty of their votes. When we get a liberty administration, as we must have soon if a proper course is pursued, let the non-slaveholders of the South have a reasonable and just share in the administration, but reject all slaveholders as we would those who commit similar robberies.

One more distinction and I have done. I dislike the talk about divorcing the government from slavery. The government was never married to slavery. It is an infamous blot that should be kicked out of doors, and the true spouse Liberty brought in.

Yours for peace,
ELI NICHOLS.

BERNADOTTE ILL., April 16, 1842.

Dr. BAILEY:—

To encourage the friends of the oppressed in your region of country, we send you for publication the following resolutions—an extract from the records of our church session.

1. Resolved, That this session highly approve of the decision of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America, on the subject of slavery, in which they decide that "the buying, selling and holding of slaves for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal." And this session hold, that it ought to be abandoned immediately.

2. Resolved, That this session highly appreciate the decision of said Assembly on the same subject in the year 1818, in which they enjoin on all the churches under their care, to use all lawful endeavors to abolish slavery.

3. Resolved, That this session highly esteem the decision of the synod of Cincinnati, in October, 1841, (at Springfield Ohio) in which they enjoin on all the churches under their care, firmly and faithfully to exercise discipline on all those who attempt to justify slavery from the holy Scriptures.

4. Resolved, That this session will not admit any known slaveholder to membership in this church.

5. Resolved, That this session will not permit any known slaveholder to preach in the pulpit of this church.

6. Resolved, That certified copies of these Resolutions be forwarded for publication to the editors of the Protestant and Herald, the Philanthropist and the Genius of Liberty.

ROBERT B. DOBINS, Clerk.

For the Philanthropist.
WHAT IS YOUR PLAN?

Is a question often asked in the early history of the Anti-slavery movement. In answer, it might, with good propriety and truth, be said: "Cease to do evil and learn to do well," or, "loose the bonds of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and break the yoke," is God's plan. Is it probable that man can devise a better?

But to change the subject a little; a few weeks since, I fell in company with a young gentleman, from Kentucky; and advanced, substantially, the following sentiments; to which he apparently gave his cordial assent. After I had introduced the subject, he asked me; but what would be your plan? I answered, suppose Ky. or Va. or Md., or all of them should emancipate their slaves; my plan would be, to have the owners of the soil hire them; or what would be better, rent the land to them on shares, as was done, in some instances in New York in 1827; and as was done generally in the West India Islands more recently. And if, as in those cases, it should work well—so well, that others should be induced to follow their example—and thus all the States emancipated their slaves, the plan would be for them to hire their emancipated people; say, for one fourth of all they can raise—the owners of the soil finding teams, tools, and seed, and they (the workmen) board and clothe themselves and pay their own doctor bills. Then add to this, their new condition, kind and equitable laws adapted to their capacity, condition, and in experience in self-government. But, said he, their habits of industry and economy are such that they would spend nothing, and soon become rich—(More reasonable than the old objection, that "they can't take care of themselves.") Very well, said I, I suppose we might naturally expect they would soon begin to acquire some self-respect, and having the hope of gain in view, would also continue their industrious and economical habits, and of course, acquire some little property. Most certainly they would, said he, and we would become poor. Oh, no, I told him, I thought not; for this reason—"The whites would have a great advantage over the blacks in wealth and skill, and education, and sufficient time to change their habits, plans and occupations, while the blacks were accumulating some little property. Besides, all white and colored, having the liberty of loco-motion, would be likely to act on this principle of the old adage: "Birds of the same feather flock together," that is, they would like to go as every body else does—Virginians like to go and settle among Virginians—Yankees among Yankees—the Dutch among the Dutch—Irish among the Irish. Now, if this should prove true, (and I could see no reason why it should not,) of the slaveholders and slaves of the South, when they are both free,—it undoubtedly would, he interrupted—then, the inclination of the colored people, not only of the northern slave States, but of the free states also, would naturally be to go South; because any motive, which operates on emigrants of any class, would operate on them to do so. True, they go North now, in spite of the cold, which they so much dread, and every other repulsive motive, solely in order to get away from slavery. Yes, they leave home, friends, and their native soil, and looking to the North star, flee (who would not?) as for their lives, to get rid of a sore bondage, and to taste the sweets of liberty—the former, the greatest of all curses, and the latter, the greatest of all blessings to man. Just so, said he, and honestly, I don't blame him. But, said I, in the case supposed, viz. the destruction of slavery throughout the whole South, the tables would be turned. And the colored people, all over the land, would begin to look towards the South. They would do so; because the North is too cold for them—because the inhabitants of the North prefer to do their own labor and, consequently, they are not needed there—because to them the North is a strange land—

They would also, be inclined to emigrate South, because there it is warm—the climate suits them—because there they are needed for laborers, and understand the kind of labor—because the South is their home, their native soil—because their brethren, their friends, their attachments, and their all are there—and most of all, because there would be no slavery in the South, now as before.

For these reasons, it is believed they would naturally, and as rapidly too, as would be convenient and advantageous to both parties, emigrate to the far South and there they would be willing, (and probably nowhere else,) to purchase the soil and settle for life. This, said he, is all very natural and very probable.

While, on the other hand, to proceed, the present owners of the soil would naturally be inclined to move towards the north; because to them the climate in the extreme South is too hot, too sticky, and they are not able to labor unassisted competition with their industrious and economical neighbors, who can labor in the hot sun. For these and like reasons, they would be willing to sell for cash, (probably in small quantities, but high prices to the colored people, who would be able and glad to purchase) and then emigrate towards the North.

Thus by a natural, most free and righteous process, an effectual check would be put to the present system of amalgamation carried on between the two races in connexion with slavery; and, by degrees, they might, ultimately, become as distinct, as they were before slavery existed in our country.

Although, he replied, this would be a little humiliating, yet it would be far better, than to have slavery continue, till it comes itself, which it is certain to do, and, that before long by shedding of blood in a war of extermination between the two races.

Yes, sir, no doubt it would be better; and, the final result of voluntary emancipation, would be, that Florida, and a part of the far South, become the residence and property of the colored race. When the plan had progressed thus far, which would probably take some 10, 15, or 20 years, they might either be set off as an independent nation, like Texas, or be incorporated as a part of the Union.

Thus the heavy curse and the great sin of slavery would be done away, with all its attendant miseries and evils, amalgamation not excepted, with comparatively little immediate injury to either party, and with a very great advantage ultimately to both, and to the everlasting honor of this great nation and republicanism.

G. C. BEAMAN.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.
EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.
CINCINNATI,
Wednesday Morning, May 11, 1842.
FOR GOVERNOR,
LEICESTER KING.

OUR ANNIVERSARY.

The 7th Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Mt. Vernon, Knox county, Tuesday, the 7th of June next.

The Societies are requested to appoint their delegates immediately—and it is hoped that our friends will come prepared with warm hearts and liberal hands.

A State Political Convention of Liberty voters, is advertised for the same place on the 8th. We presume it will not meet till the 9th—owing to the sessions of the anniversary of the society.

IRISHMEN AND SLAVEHOLDERS.

The Address of 60,000 of the people of Ireland to their brethren in this country, calling upon them to give their countenance to anti-slavery movements, has excited much feeling in the class thus addressed. The names of Daniel O'Connell and Theobald Mathew standing at the head of the list, gives the address a weight and character, which have driven some of the pro-slavery Irishmen of this country to deny the genuineness of their signatures. There is no more doubt that these great men put their names to that document, than that the one is called the Liberator, and the other the Apostle of Temperance.

As to O'Connell's sentiments on the subject of slavery, the world knows them. His denunciations of slaveholders are unequalled in severity.

The following extract of a letter from Richard Allen, dated Dublin, February 23, 1842, we commend to the attention of Judge Reid, and the pro-slavery members of the Irish Repeal Association of Cincinnati.

"Are your pro-slavery folks still skeptical? If they are, let them hear a little more. I went to him (O'Connell) the other day with a letter from Lewis Tappan, addressed to my friend Joseph Sturge in which it was stated that Judge Reid was about writing over to O'Connell, a warm letter on the Irish Repeal question. (accompanied by a donation to his funds,) while his (Reid's) cause as evinced in his recent treatment of the Cincinnati rioters, showed that he had little sympathy with the cause of freedom at home. O'Connell read the letter attentively—and said to the purport, 'This is a thank you—I am extremely glad to know it. I think an excellent friend, Joseph Sturge, for sending it to me, and you as the bearer of it.'

Judge Reid's letter to this foreign 'incendiary' has reached its destination ere this—and we hope an answer is on the way back, which will teach this sympathetic democrat a few lessons on the true meaning of liberty and equal rights.

O'Connell is one of the giants of these days. He scans to conceal his sentiments from those of his transatlantic friends, from whom he is receiving contributions to the cause of Ireland. Determined not to be mistaken, he comes out in public meetings, where letters from America are read, inclosing donations—and affirms his unmitigated abhorrence of slavery. In the Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser, published at Dublin, of the 18th of January last, we find a full report of a great Repeal meeting, at which O'Connell was present. Donations from America having been announced, he arose and said, 'the only wished he could find language powerful enough to portray the deep and lasting sense of gratitude, which the Irish people entertained for their American friends.'

"The Americans," he said, "were accustomed to the voice of freedom, they knew the value of independent

government, of self-government, of domestic government, and though there were thirty slaves bound together, under one general government, yet every locality had its own legislature for disposing of property, for determining questions of life and death & all that belonged to the concerns of men. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) They call themselves well acquainted with the value of self-government, and when they hailed the struggle of the Irish, the warmest approval of the assembly, the most effectual means, too, of spreading also the knowledge and the detestation of that hideous system have been taken by the collection together, by order of the Association, of all the extracts read at former meetings on the subject of negro slavery, with a view to publish them in the form of a report, and to distribute them with our other reports. I have prepared a short introduction to be prefixed to these extracts, and I think you will find them to speak the Association's sentiments, as to slavery, in terms not to be mistaken.

The delay of publication has been thus caused:—We publish our reports at irregular intervals, whenever we have five together, each five forming one series. The first series appeared a couple of months after the formation of the Association. The second, eight or ten months later; and we hope to publish the third series, as yet but four reports for it, viz.:—one upon absenteeism, one upon the land-tenure question, one upon some other subject, that I do not at this moment recollect, and the report upon negro slavery in America, of which I speak. When the fifth is supplied the whole shall be immediately printed, and given the widest circulation in our power among our countrymen, both at home and abroad. I must leave Dublin in a day or two to attend to my parliamentary duties; but before I go I will draw the very particular attention of our committee to the obstacle in the way of will take efficient measures to remove it.

I trust we now stand acquitted of the charge, that our "Cry for liberty is a mere selfish affair." We do not, and did not, deserve the charge. Our warmest exertions are ready to be given, and, whenever occasion offers, are given, freely and heartily, to every movement in favor of the liberty and happiness of any and all the branches of the universal family of man.

If we have been more before the public in our particular character as Repealers of the legislative portion between England and Ireland, it is because our first duty is to our native land. But we have never refused to neglect an opportunity of raising our voices in support of any and of the strongest incentives that we have to labor for the restoration of our country's legislative independence, is that her will then be the political voice of a nation, and no longer the unheeded cry of a mercenary province, oppressed in the cause of liberty and of Christianity.

On my dear Sir, having enrolled with us, stand free from the countenance which, I think, we are fairly entitled to bring against others of the negro's friends in this country. They are zealous for the liberty of the African—they make no effort for the liberty of the Irishman—the charity that begins at home is not of the Irish order, but neither is that which begins out of doors and stays there. We are laboring for the interests of a party there might be reason for this holding off; but the struggle we are making is for Ireland. The Ireland of the Tories, the Whigs, the Radicals, the Catholics, the Protestants, the Dissenters. The claims of the negro are strong; but those of our country are as powerful, and are imperative. We, of the Association, listen to and attend to both.

As you mention that you and the other gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery Committee, consider that this correspondence would be useful if it appeared in print, I send it to those newspapers whose proprietors are likely to comply with a request of mine; and I remain, my dear Sir, ever faithfully yours,
JOHN O'CONNELL.

"No abatement of zeal in the cause of negro emancipation"—"the claims of the negro are strong; but those of our country are as powerful and as imperative. We, of the Association, listen to and attend to both."

Such is the language of Irish repeal in Ireland. Abolitionism is now an essential element in its constitution. Its "cry for liberty is not a mere selfish affair." Our warmest exertions are ready to be given, and, whenever occasion offers, are given, freely and heartily, to every movement in favor of the liberty and happiness of any and all the branches of the universal family of man. That is noble. The blessing of God must rest upon men, animated by a spirit so catholic in its benevolence. Let the Repealers of this country display the same fearless, impartial zeal for universal liberty, and they will secure the confidence of all good men.

One would think indeed that none of them could resist the touching beauty of this expansive benevolence. And yet there are some, we would fain hope that their number is small, who will denounce John O'Connell as an incendiary. They connive at American oppression. Soon, they would offend the slaveholders and their abettors, they would repudiate their brethren in Ireland, and abandon the cause of Irish emancipation.

Some weeks since, we endeavored to show them the character of their chosen allies—in what estimation these men were accustomed to hold foreigners. We have now a few more items. They will serve to illustrate the gaudy attitude of the slaveholder to those, who are so prompt for his sake to denounce abolitionists.

A great Anti-Irish Repeal meeting has been held in New Orleans. The American says—

"A large and enthusiastic meeting of American citizens who are opposed to the agitation in our city and State of the domestic affairs of a nation with whom we are at peace, was held in the Rotunda of the St. Louis Exchange on Thursday evening last."

We commend to Irishmen, the following among other resolutions adopted by the meeting.

"Resolved, That this meeting declares itself hostile to every invasion on the part of the people of one nation of the rights of another with which it is at peace;—that we review with mortification and regret the interference of American citizens with the domestic affairs of Great Britain, and condemn the conduct of those who have lately assembled in public meetings in this city in support of what is called the Irish Repeal."

Resolved, That in the proceedings of the meeting held at Faneuil Hall, in the city of Boston, over which Wm. Lloyd Garrison presided, we distinctly recognize the identity of the interests of the two factions of Irish Repealers and American Abolitionists; and that we consider it as solemnly our duty to oppose the one, as to suppress and punish any efforts made by the fanatics of the other, to promote their disorganizing schemes.

Resolved, That this meeting regards Daniel O'Connell in Europe, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison in America, with no feeling but abhorrence—that we consider one a political renegade, and the other a political fanatic, and both are entitled to the execration of all sober, upright and enlightened American citizens."

Can it be, that O'Connell will survive this resolution?

The following paragraph is from the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, and is copied into the Charleston (S. C.) Observer. We hope that the Irish associates of Mess. Reid and Platt will bear in mind, that the Enquirer is the great democratic organ of the South. They will understand from the paragraph with what feelings slaveholders regard the "mob Irish," as that paper insultingly terms them.

Now read the following letter from John O'Connell, son of the "Liberator," and judge how much fellowship exists between the repealers of Dublin and their brethren of Cincinnati.

Negro Freedom—the Repeal Association.
TO JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ.
30, Merriam-square, 27th Jan. 1842.

MY DEAR SIR:—

I earnestly request your pardon and that of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, for my neglect of your and their flattering communication of last week. My only excuse is, that my whole time

and attention have been absorbed by the present election contest for the representation of Dublin.

I beg to assure you and the other gentlemen of the committee that there is no abatement of zeal on the part of the Repeal Association in the blessed cause of negro freedom. You would have easily seen this had you been at our meeting of last Monday week, when my father attended, in strong terms, to slavery in America, and met the warmest approval of the assembly. The most effectual means, too, of spreading also the knowledge and the detestation of that hideous system have been taken by the collection together, by order of the Association, of all the extracts read at former meetings on the subject of negro slavery, with a view to publish them in the form of a report, and to distribute them with our other reports. I have prepared a short introduction to be prefixed to these extracts, and I think you will find them to speak the Association's sentiments, as to slavery, in terms not to be mistaken.

The delay of publication has been thus caused:—We publish our reports at irregular intervals, whenever we have five together, each five forming one series. The first series appeared a couple of months after the formation of the Association. The second, eight or ten months later; and we hope to publish the third series, as yet but four reports for it, viz.:—one upon absenteeism, one upon the land-tenure question, one upon some other subject, that I do not at this moment recollect, and the report upon negro slavery in America, of which I speak. When the fifth is supplied the whole shall be immediately printed, and given the widest circulation in our power among our countrymen, both at home and abroad. I must leave Dublin in a day or two to attend to my parliamentary duties; but before I go I will draw the very particular attention of our committee to the obstacle in the way of will take efficient measures to remove it.

I trust we now stand acquitted of the charge, that our "Cry for liberty is a mere selfish affair." We do not, and did not, deserve the charge. Our warmest exertions are ready to be given, and, whenever occasion offers, are given, freely and heartily, to every movement in favor of the liberty and happiness of any and all the branches of the universal family of man.

If we have been more before the public in our particular character as Repealers of the legislative portion between England and Ireland, it is because our first duty is to our native land. But we have never refused to neglect an opportunity of raising our voices in support of any and of the strongest incentives that we have to labor for the restoration of our country's legislative independence, is that her will then be the political voice of a nation, and no longer the unheeded cry of a mercenary province, oppressed in the cause of liberty and of Christianity.

On my dear Sir, having enrolled with us, stand free from the countenance which, I think, we are fairly entitled to bring against others of the negro's friends in this country. They are zealous for the liberty of the African—they make no effort for the liberty of the Irishman—the charity that begins at home is not of the Irish order, but neither is that which begins out of doors and stays there. We are laboring for the interests of a party there might be reason for this holding off; but the struggle we are making is for Ireland. The Ireland of the Tories, the Whigs, the Radicals, the Catholics, the Protestants, the Dissenters. The claims of the negro are strong; but those of our country are as powerful, and are imperative. We, of the Association, listen to and attend to both.

As you mention that you and the other gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery Committee, consider that this correspondence would be useful if it appeared in print, I send it to those newspapers whose proprietors are likely to comply with a request of mine; and I remain, my dear Sir, ever faithfully yours,
JOHN O'CONNELL.

"No abatement of zeal in the cause of negro emancipation"—"the claims of the negro are strong; but those of our country are as powerful and as imperative. We, of the Association, listen to and attend to both."

Such is the language of Irish repeal in Ireland. Abolitionism is now an essential element in its constitution. Its "cry for liberty is not a mere selfish affair." Our warmest exertions are ready to be given, and, whenever occasion offers, are given, freely and heartily, to every movement in favor of the liberty and happiness of any and all the branches of the universal family of man. That is noble. The blessing of God must rest upon men, animated by a spirit so catholic in its benevolence. Let the Repealers of this country display the same fearless, impartial zeal for universal liberty, and they will secure the confidence of all good men.

One would think indeed that none of them could resist the touching beauty of this expansive benevolence. And yet there are some, we would fain hope that their number is small, who will denounce John O'Connell as an incendiary. They connive at American oppression. Soon, they would offend the slaveholders and their abettors, they would repudiate their brethren in Ireland, and abandon the cause of Irish emancipation.

Some weeks since, we endeavored to show them the character of their chosen allies—in what estimation these men were accustomed to hold foreigners. We have now a few more items. They will serve to illustrate the gaudy attitude of the slaveholder to those, who are so prompt for his sake to denounce abolitionists.

A great Anti-Irish Repeal meeting has been held in New Orleans. The American says—

"A large and enthusiastic meeting of American citizens who are opposed to the agitation in our city and State of the domestic affairs of a nation with whom we are at peace, was held in the Rotunda of the St. Louis Exchange on Thursday evening last."

We commend to Irishmen, the following among other resolutions adopted by the meeting.

"Resolved, That this meeting declares itself hostile to every invasion on the part of the people of one nation of the rights of another with which it is at peace;—that we review with mortification and regret the interference of American citizens with the domestic affairs of Great Britain, and condemn the conduct of those who have lately assembled in public meetings in this city in support of what is called the Irish Repeal."

Resolved, That in the proceedings of the meeting held at Faneuil Hall, in the city of Boston, over which Wm. Lloyd Garrison presided, we distinctly recognize the identity of the interests of the two factions of Irish Repealers and American Abolitionists; and that we consider it as solemnly our duty to oppose the one, as to suppress and punish any efforts made by the fanatics of the other, to promote their disorganizing schemes.

Resolved, That this meeting regards Daniel O'Connell in Europe, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison in America, with no feeling but abhorrence—that we consider one a political renegade, and the other a political fanatic, and both are entitled to the execration of all sober, upright and enlightened American citizens."

Can it be, that O'Connell will survive this resolution?

The following paragraph is from the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, and is copied into the Charleston (S. C.) Observer. We hope that the Irish associates of Mess. Reid and Platt will bear in mind, that the Enquirer is the great democratic organ of the South. They will understand from the paragraph with what feelings slaveholders regard the "mob Irish," as that paper insultingly terms them.

Now read the following letter from John O'Connell, son of the "Liberator," and judge how much fellowship exists between the repealers of Dublin and their brethren of Cincinnati.

Negro Freedom—the Repeal Association.
TO JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ.
30, Merriam-square, 27th Jan. 1842.

MY DEAR SIR:—

I earnestly request your pardon and that of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, for my neglect of your and their flattering communication of last week. My only excuse is, that my whole time

annual meeting of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. The Rev. Mr. Redmond, the Colored Ambassador!! who brought it, is to read it.

Fellow citizens of the South—Do you hear this? A negro, yes, a black negro, reading a proclamation and invocation, from sixty thousand Catholic Irish to their brethren—the mob Irish of this country, to make head and tail of you, we would say to you, have your eye on Bishop England! This man is the "Dear friend of O'Connell," and doubtless he feels himself honored by such friendship.

Bishop England has deceased since this brutal paragraph was penned. What say our Irish Repealers of Cincinnati? Are we to have any more resolutions, denouncing those who are seeking the overthrow of slavery? Our Irish fellow citizens of course will decide for themselves, how far they will aljure anti-slavery sentiment, and thus forfeit the confidence of their countrymen in Ireland, for the sake of conciliating a class of men, who can ferociously invoke the vengeance of the mob against a distinguished Irish prelate, because he happens to be a friend of O'Connell! Suppose they call upon their democratic friends, Messrs. Reid and Platt, to come out with a severe rebuke against their Southern democratic friends in Richmond and New Orleans!

DEMAGOGUISM.

The Logan Gazette thinks "there is a good deal of demagoguism in the way the Philanthropist is conducted." Alas, for my vanity. Here have I been, week after week, deploring most bitterly the arts of the demagogue, and all at once I am charged with being one myself.

What is demagoguism? A system of efforts designed to impel the people to unworthy ends, by imposing on their judgments, and appealing to their lower passions. Now we put it to the conscience of our friend of the Gazette, does the Philanthropist seek an unworthy end? Is it an object of no magnitude, to restore the Government to the control of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, to rescue the interests of free labor from the injurious domination of the Slave Power, to withdraw the national sanction and support from slavery and the slave-trade, and so to reform public sentiment and legislation, that JUSTICE shall become the universal law throughout this nation, in fact, as well as theory? If our friend does us the honor to read our paper, he knows, that this object is continually kept in view in every number. The means adopted to obtain it, may be unwise, but that this is the manifest object, he will not deny.

Let us ask him then, are the means we employ, unwise? Can he point to a single instance in which we have appealed to a groveling passion, or a merely selfish feeling? We have labored to awaken in the people a jealousy for their own rights, indignation at wrong, sympathy for the oppressed, opposition to the exactions of slavery. We have appealed to their justice, their humanity, their love of independence, their shame, their patriotism, their religion—when have we addressed ourselves to other feelings?

Why then call us a demagogue? We seek a noble object by noble means. The policy of the democratic party in relation to slavery we abhor—the policy of the whig party in relation to slavery, we despise. The one is cowardly, the other, atrocious. This volunteers its open support to the piratical system; that pledges its silence. We speak now of the parties, as parties. We do not believe our friend of the Gazette has any affection for slavery, or that he is afraid to speak when assailed by southern arrogance. But, insensibility to the real evil of slavery and the tyranny of the Slave Power, is proved herein, that he would elevate to the highest office in this nation, a man, who defended slavery in a senatorial speech, & has sustained it by a life-long practice—a man, who thought it necessary to do homage to this despotic Slave Power, by a barefaced departure from the principles, which controlled him in the beginning of his career.

A word as to the consistency of Liberty men. "Take up the Philanthropist," says the Gazette; "take up the Freeman, and what do we find? Violent philippics, bitter denunciations, levelled against the whig party, without ever a word against those who are in truth the real enemies of civil liberty."

This is a mistake. Again and again have we denounced the detestable servility of the democratic party—and if we have not done so more frequently, it has been because we have thought, "Ephraim was joined to his idols; let him alone." In regard to the whigs, it has been different. Their apostasy from right principle has not been so shameless. A few blushes remain to tell of virtue not quite lost. There are some rights which they are yet unwilling to abandon. But, their ground is that of compromise. They contend for a right, but agree not to use it. The liberty of speech and the press must not be abridged, but, it is inexpedient to exercise it against slavery. The right to petition must be maintained, but it will never do to grant the prayer of the petitioners. Slavery is wrong, Liberty is the right of every man, but this is not the time to agitate such abstractions. Such a party, it is evident, must be more dangerous to Liberty, than an open slavery party. The man who would shelter a wrong, by declaring you have no right to discuss it, makes you hate it, because it abridges your liberty. He who concedes to you the right, but argues against its use, awakens no indignation, and will more likely succeed in arresting examination than the other. Hence it is, that the Logan Gazette itself, has said that the outrages of southern men were only calculated to multiply abolitionists.—So the outrages of the democratic party, will produce the same effect, while the compromises of the whigs, by conceding the right of discussion, but denying its expediency, are cal-

culated to induce multitudes to forego the use of this right, who, were it denied, would most surely exercise it.

LIBERTY MEN IN THE EAST.

Some of our friends in the West, have expressed a strong distrust of the integrity of the men connected with the Liberty party in the East, and of the Editor of the Emancipator. We have declared our dissent from the propriety of the address to the slaves, and regret that the editor of the Emancipator should countenance the policy of confounding the Liberty party with the Abolition organization. But, we venture to say that the Liberty men of the East, with the exception of a very few, are as true and honest as any in our ranks. Differences of opinion must be adjusted by conference and experience. There should be no imputation, no unbrotherly denunciation, no impecuniation of motive, no pretensions to superiority in any section of our ranks, no assumptions of infallibility.

STATISTICS OF EDUCATION &c.

In the subjoined tables, we have compared different sections of the Union, in point of education. The first column gives the whole population, the second, the absolute number of white persons over 21, who can neither read nor write, the third, the proportionate number.

Eastern Free States.

6,760,022, 97,818, 1 in 67

Western Free States.

2,968,900, 105,988, 1 in 28

Eastern Slave States.

3,826,323, 183,165, 1 in 20

The Free States.

9,728,922, 203,806, 1 in 47

The Slave States.

7,333,644, 345,879, 1 in 21

This, however, does not present a fair view of the absolute amount of ignorance in the slave states. The slave-population in round numbers is 2,487,000; the free colored, in the slave states, 200,000. Adults we may reckon at 1,500,000, of whom we do not suppose that more than 150,000 can read and write. In the slave states then, with a population of 7,333,644, the absolute number of adult persons who can neither read nor write, is about 1,700,000, or one in every four. If in our estimate of the free states, we include the free colored population of 186,000, setting down the adults at 75,000, and conceding that two thirds can neither read nor write, the proportion then of the entire population will stand, one to every 39, instead of 47.

Indeed, this is the only fair way of making an estimate of the amount of education in the community. The colored population is an essential part of it—its intelligence will advance, its ignorance retard, the welfare of the whole.

Behold then what slavery does for letters—one in every four persons in the slave states, who can neither read nor write!

We wish the Serviles of the free states would now answer one question. On what are founded the pretensions of the slaveholders to rule this Union—pretensions to which the people of the North have so long submitted?

On their numerical strength? They number scarcely 300,000, and the people with whom they are more immediately connected, are a small minority of the whole population.

On their wealth? In agricultural wealth they are behind the people of the free states; in commerce and manufactures, there is scarcely room for comparison.

On their moral worth? The question is mockery.

On their abundant charities? Probably, three fourths of all the contributions to the benevolent and religious institutions of the land come from the free states.

On their value as customers of the North? It is estimated that the slave states now owe the free, \$200,000,000; a debt they will never be able to pay.

On their genius? Seven-eighths of all the American authors of any note in Literature or Science, are born, and flourish North of Mason's and Dixon's line.

On their intelligence? One in every four persons of their adult population, can neither read nor write.

On their ability for good government?—The country has been controlled by them for the last 20 years, and what is the result?

Why then, we ask, are these men allowed to fill a large majority of the most important offices of the government, and to make its administration subservient to the interests of Slavery, at the expense of the honor and welfare of the whole nation? In addition to the facts we furnished on this subject a few weeks since, take the following—

The slave states have 35 per cent. of the white population, and about 38 per cent. of the federal. The free states supply most of the sailors in our merchant ships, and men of war. But, the President of the United States, is from Virginia; the Secretary of the Navy, from Virginia; his chief clerk, from Virginia; the president of the navy commissioners, from Virginia; their chief clerk, from Maryland; Senior Captain of the Navy, from Virginia; Col. commandant of the Marine Corps, from Virginia. The proportion of captains from the slave states, is, 44 per cent.; commanders, 29 per cent.; Lieutenants, 51 per cent.; passed midshipmen, 46 per cent.; midshipmen, 47 per cent.; surgeons and assistants, 42 per cent.; and, according to the Washington correspondent of the New York Evangelist, Judge Upshur, (in addition to the number of midshipmen appointed among the states by law,) has recently appointed thirty two, of whom fifteen are taken from Virginia, and the remaining seventeen from Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia. These are mere illustrations of the complete supremacy of the Slave Power.

We ask the dough-faces of the North again—

on what do you ground the claim of your masters, the slaveholders, to rule this Union?

THE WIND CHANGED.

"Dr. Bailey we love, ay! honor for his devotion to freedom; but still say as we did, that his intentions judged of in the light of his article, 'looked like a direct and bold attempt to sell the abolitionists of Ohio to one of the parties.'" Dr. Bailey has since explained his language in a late short article, (but we never retracted a single position we had taken, Ed. Phil.,) and we cheerfully withdraw our charge; having no difference with him in the light of this explanation.—*Madison County Abolitionist—April 19th.*

Our friend having thus withdrawn his charge, we immediately penned a little paragraph, expressing our satisfaction, and apologizing for a severe thrust we made at him. I felt sorry that I had been so sharp towards one who loved and honored me so much. Alas! if I could only have despatched this friendly missile on the wings of some aerial messenger, how much mischief might have been prevented! Papers living so far apart as the Philanthropist and Abolitionist ought never to quarrel.

In the Abolitionist of the 19th, I was loved & honored—in the same paper of the 26th, I was represented as any thing but a lovable object. In the interval between the dates the editor had received my article on the Address to the Slaves, in which was that most unkindly reference to himself. That was the only personality in it. The purpose of the article was to show, that the advice to the fugitive slave to take in the free states, a horse or boat, or whatsoever he thought "absolutely necessary" to his escape, was wrong. That the slave had a perfect right to take from his master whatever was necessary to his flight, we held was true, on two grounds—his master was at war with him, and his wages had been withheld from him. These circumstances in relation to the free states, did not exist, and this we endeavored to show. Evidently, then, the difference between us, and the supporters of the morality of that advice was, simply, a question of fact, not of principle. Allowing that we were in error, on that point, which we do not believe, we see not how we could be denounced as wanting in principle.

But, our friend of the Abolitionist is not apt at discrimination. So, in the very number succeeding that, in which he had loved and honored us for our devotion to freedom, and rejoiced that there was no difference between us, in regard to the great enterprise, he comes out and denounces us as almost utterly wicked, because we happened most unfortunately to differ with him on a question of fact, or, as some might maliciously say, because the Philanthropist, containing an apology for the unlucky allusion aforesaid, did not reach him in time. For the benefit of our friend, so that he may review his comments of the 26th, which he says were penned rather hurriedly, (there is no doubt of it,) we will give him an abstract of them.

Our article on the address to the slaves, is "pre-eminent for sophistry"—"weak, very weak."

He puts the Philanthropist and the New York Observer in the same category.

He sneeringly calls us a "Liberal Party editor;" and charges us,

With "sewing pillows under the armholes" of the pro-slavery men of Ohio:

With resort to "subterfuges:"

With "making concessions" to a population that lately tumbled our press into the river:

With offering "concessions" to politicians unworthy anti-slavery editor:

With "turning a deaf ear to the cries of innocent men shut up in Palmyra prison:"

With being decidedly opposed to the sentiment, that men are better than horses:

With consulting our position and ease, "at the expense of great truths:"

With being "trammelled by expediency:"

With playing the "Aristocrat:"

Advices us to "retrace our course, as if we were an apostate, and makes one sweeping charge against us as being capable of any wickedness. Thus—"The man, who for expediency's sake, can do what Dr. Bailey has done, can do whatever expediency demands, even to telling the masses they have not deprived the slave of liberty."

And yet this very man, he loved, ay! honored, just one week before, for his devotion to freedom! Well—all we have to say is, friend Jackson appears to us a much more reasonable man on the 19th of April than on the 26th.

On the 19th he gave a little advice to himself, and the rest of his brethren, and of course will not be offended, if I quote the following from an ancient Greek poet, as equally applicable to us all—

"To err is human; tis the common lot

"Of frail mortality; but he alone

"Is wise and happy, who, when ill, does none

"Persists not, but would heal the wounds he made:

"But self-sufficient obstinacy ever,

"Is folly's utmost height."

BRANCH MINTS.

The Committee on Public Expenditures have made curious developments with regard to the operations of the Branch Mints of the U. S. These are, at Charlottesville, N. C., Dahlgren, Ga., and New Orleans, La. They are a useless burthen on the government. They were got up, ostensibly for the sake of coining more money, but really for disbursing more of Uncle Sam's treasures in the Slave States. The last purpose they have answered admirably well.

According to the Committee, the \$2,884,708 coined at these mints having cost the Government, \$3,703,165.72 or, \$1,283.37 for each dollar!

The total cost of erecting and sustaining the mints is \$822,457.72. The officers of the branch mint at New Orleans, particularly, have lived like princes. With a proper contempt for that niggardly economy which disgraces the free states, they have laid out for baths, wa-

er-closets, and flagging the yard and side walk of the mint, sixteen thousand eight hundred and thirty nine dollars, and twenty eight cents!

The following items of expenditures will show the luxurious style in which these servants of the country have been in the habit of living.

Five mahogany arm chairs, \$10.25 each	\$51.25
Thirty mahogany chairs, 5 each	150.00
Six Grecian chairs	15.00
Mahogany desks and tables	400.00
One rose-wood desk	22.00
Carpet, Brussels and others	376.50
One pair porcelain spit boxes	8.00
Two inkstands, 10 each	20.00
One mahogany bureau	210.00
A bust of Mr. Livingston	40.00
One table	40.00
One room footsack paper	10.00
One do do	9.00
Penknives, each 3.50 to 4.50	23.50
Tea, shirub and flowers	14.00
One desk curtain	85.58
Ice	92.98
Mahogany boards for a counter	10.75
Two bronze pair weights	7.00
One eagle do do	7.00
Stuffed mahogany chair	13.00
Large lamp for lobby	73.50
Travelling expenses of one of the officers in the season	275.00
Bookcase and desk	258.00
A supply of water for the mint, per annum \$250 to	317.00

But, this is not all. The hard earnings of the people must go to pay these gentry for cultivating plants &c. Look at the following items.

1. Brunet, for sundry plants, namely	4.50
6 dwarf pear trees, at 75 cents	4.50
6 dwarf apple trees, at 75 cents	4.50
6 durable almond trees	3.00
5 lilacs at 50 cents	2.50
3 plain laurels	1.50
4 rose bushes	2.00
2 snow balls	1.00
4 synchotic carpon	2.50
4 spinas	2.00
3 seringas	1.50
7 Japan ocaha	3.50
4 yellow tansain	2.00
3 Hortensia, at 25 cents	.75
2 cowslips	.50
4 campanilla	1.00
7 silver-button bushes	1.75
1 fox	.25
1 Juliana	.25
2 jogs	.50

S. Bremond, for trees, &c., namely:

204 cedar and one dozen live oak	\$20.00
6 different trees	20.00
Orange trees	5.00
Pear trees	6.00
A quantity of lumber	8.00
Sundry trees	5.00
Sundry flowers	5.00
Trees	15.25
Conestock	4.50
Trees assorted	5.00
This amount paid John Doyle, for orange trees and plum trees	69.75
Sundry trees	8.00

So much for branch mints in the slave states.

And to sustain these and similar ridiculous expenditures, the people of this country must be taxed in the shape of a tariff some 30 or 40 per cent. If the slaveholders should succeed in forcing Congress to establish a national armory, or a naval depot in the slave states, it may be well to make definite appropriations, for the establishment of baths, and pleasure grounds, the purchase of busts, pictures, and ornamental furniture, and also for the travelling expenses of such of the officers as may wish to go abroad on purposes of pleasure, or electioneering.

PROPOSED BRITISH TARIFF.

The proposed reduction of the British tariff on certain articles, is welcomed by many in this country, as being calculated to throw a damper on the operations of the Home League.

The whig press undervalues its importance, & thinks that the agricultural interests of this country will gain little from it. For one, we rejoice in the movement for reduction. It is a concession to the wants of the laboring masses in England. It will open the way for still further concessions. It will certainly stimulate the agricultural interests of the free states, and multiply the bonds of interest between this country and Great Britain, thus lessening the chances of a rupture in their friendly relations. With appearances thus auspicious on the part of Great Britain, we do not wish to see a general system of countervailing duties adopted by our government. For effecting further changes, it would be better to rely on the force of negotiation than of retaliation.

The following table will show some of the principle articles on which the duties are proposed to be reduced.

	Present Rate.	Proposed Rate.	Colonial Rate.
Bacon, cwt. 28 0	14 0	3 6	
Beef, salt (if not corn), cwt. 12 0	8 0	2 0	
Beef, fr. or salt salt cwt. prob't'd	8 0	2 0	
Butter, cwt. 20 0	20 0	5 0	
Cheese, cwt. 10 0	10 0	2 6	
Eggs, 120 0 10	10 0	2 6	
Hams, of all kinds, cwt. 28 0	14 0	3 6	
Lard, cwt. 8 0	2 0	0 6	
Pork, salt (not hams), cwt. 12 0	8 0	2 0	
Pork, fresh, cwt. prob't'd	8 0	2 0	
Puddings & sausages, lb. 0 4	3 0	1 0	
Tongues, dozen, 3 0	14 0	cwt. 3 6	
Salted or fresh meat, not otherwise described, cwt. prob't'd	8 0	2 0	
Potatoes, cwt. 2 0	0 2	0 1	
Onions, bushel 3 0	0 6	0 3	

OUR FIRST PAGE.—The epistle of S. Crothers on our first page to the Secretaries of the American Board of Missions, is quite a rich, highly seasoned article. The Address to the people of Clinton county is forcible—but, we do not see the propriety of calling an attempt to amend the constitution, revolutionary—nor can we admit by any means, that under the general power "to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," Congress may constitutionally abolish slavery in the states; unless in the event of war or insurrection, when the aid of the Union is demanded, it may become absolutely necessary for the safety of the country. We are of the strict construction school, and cannot, under any pretext, or for any purpose whatsoever, consent to stretching the powers of Congress to any cases, not manifestly within the meaning of the constitution.

The communication of Mr. Eli Nichols, I do not like in all points. I think the object of the Liberty party, may be better defined—*Equal and Exact Justice to all classes and conditions of men in the country, white and colored, bond and free.*

A REQUEST.

Just before the last State Liberty Convention of Massachusetts, a letter respecting the true objects and policy of the Liberty party, as understood in Ohio, was addressed to that body, by Dr. Brisbane, Thomas Morris, William Birney, and the editor of this paper. The friends in this region would be glad, if the editor of the Emancipator could make it convenient to publish that letter. The Liberty party will doubtless be pleased to know the opinions of their candidate for the Vice Presidency, on the proper objects of their organization.

Judge Underwood.

A public meeting at Hallowell, Maine, passed certain resolutions respecting the attempt to secure Mr. Adams, for presenting the Harberhill petition. A copy of the proceedings was forwarded to Judge Underwood, who returned the following truly patriotic answer.

Washington City, March 19, 1842.

Sir: I have received a copy of the proceedings of a public meeting held at Hallowell on the evening of the 18th of February at which you presided.

It is gratifying to me to receive the approbation of any portion of my countrymen.

Although I differ with Mr. Adams in some respects, I have no more right to censure him for acting upon his principles, than he has to censure me for acting upon mine.

To punish a member not for disorder, but for what he thinks a conscientious discharge of duty, although an error in the opinion of the majority, would inevitably subvert the principles of the Constitution, and bring Congress into contempt with all considerate men.

I send several of my speeches printed in a corrected form, to yourself and others who participated in the meeting at Hallowell.

With strong feelings of attachment to every State and to the perpetual union of the States, I am with respect,

Your obedient servant,

J. R. UNDERWOOD.

COMMUNICATION FROM SAMUEL LEWIS.

DR. BAILEY:—Will you allow me to reply through your paper to the friends who requested my attendance at various liberty and anti-slavery meetings.

It would gratify me exceedingly to meet the advocates of constitutional freedom. Every mail brings tidings confirming my conviction of the necessity for political action; it is the only action that promises the least success.

The two political parties are sacrificing our principles to Southern influence, and so far as the great subject of freedom is concerned, it matters not to us whether Tyler, Van Buren, Clay or Webster be president, in any case, Southern influence must prevail.

It is true, in the recent outrages in Congress, a majority of those who favored the right, were whigs; but it is equally true that the leading whigs commenced the attacks on both Mr. Adams and Mr. Giddings, and have recently added to their former sins a refusal to receive resolutions of large bodies of men, merely because they ventured to differ in opinion with a southern majority, thus practically declaring that no voice but that which favors the work of tyranny shall be heard in the halls of Congress; so that we cannot expect the least mitigation of our wrongs by the elevation of a party of which Mr. Clay is the head, and Messrs. Botts, Marshall & kindred spirits are to take the lead, while the leaders of the opposite party are too far committed to slave influence to recede an inch.

While the present administration is pledged to procure the admission of Texas and the extension of the slave power, and the leaders of both the opposition parties either favor the project or dare not oppose it, and while the pretensions of slavery are about to involve the nation in war for its protection, it is no time to be idle or silent, nor would I allow my personal interest or convenience to keep me from the field, so long as my efforts could serve in any degree to promote the cause of human liberty and the prosperity of my fellow citizens. Thousands of us may exhaust our influence, or be crushed by the slave power, ere the day of our final triumph, but that day will come. As liberty men we must not hesitate to sacrifice our own standing, influence or interest, so that we insure the triumph of free principles and the restoration of constitutional rights.

Obligations that I consider sacred, require that I should be absent from the State, the next two months, and this must be the apology for my absence where I should otherwise rejoice to be present. Should life and health permit, I hope to co-operate with my patriotic friends during the summer and fall in this great and noble work.

SAMUEL LEWIS.

[FROM OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.]

Washington, Mar 4th, 1842.

Since my last letter, we have had several important reports—one from the Committee on Foreign Relations respecting our trade with the British West Indies.—This was once very extensive and valuable. The timber from Maine, the manufactures from the New England States, the flour & tobacco of the Middle States found an extensive market there, both for consumption, and transmission indirectly to Europe. That trade was mostly destroyed, the little remnant being transferred to British vessels, in consequence of some changes in our tariff to benefit the sugar and cotton planters of the South. The wanton sacrifice of Northern interests with no corresponding benefit to the South, excited much feeling, as your political readers will remember, in Mr. Adams' administration. The South then, managed to stifle inquiry, and throw the blame on Great Britain; and with complete success. The cry for war was almost universal for a time.

The report of the Committee does ample justice to this important topic. The ultra-Southern men, ever hating the light, tried in vain, to prevent the printing of 10,000 extra copies of the report—it will have a powerful influence in arousing the people of the Northern and Middle States to a perception of their true interests in this matter.

The reports of Messrs. Kelly and Stewart, and that of Gov. Poindexter, respecting the New York Custom House frauds have at last been laid before the House.—I will try to give your readers a clear idea of that matter.

For many years past large quantities of woolen and cotton goods have been passed through the N. Y. Custom House, fraudulently, at very low duties, and sold at auction, often at prices below the nominal cost in England. The American manufacturers were thus deprived of the benefit of the tariff duties. Since 1832 the amount of this fraudulent importation has largely increased. These imports were made by English Houses

connected with English Manufacturers, and on their account.

Our American Manufacturers and honest importers were led, very naturally, to inquire into a practice which was ruining them as well as depriving the Government of millions of revenue. They despatched agents to England; and soon ferreted out the whole plan of false invoices by which the frauds were perpetrated, and obtained evidence sufficient to ensure the conviction of some of the more prominent of the guilty parties in New York city. When the matter was brought to the notice of the Treasury department, and of the higher offices in New York, a great show, at least, of effort to punish the knaves was made. Large seizures of goods were made, and several importers suffered severely.

Meantime, all the Custom House officers were not more immaculate than sundry bank directors have shown themselves, within a few years past. And so it happened that an importer whose cash and conscience allowed of that particular mode of proceeding, could pass his goods, very easily, at such a rate of duties as seemed right in his own eyes; while those whose necessities or very peculiar notions of honesty did not allow them to take that particular way of cheating Uncle Sam, had their goods seized by our "very vigilant and faithful custom House officers, Messrs. So & So." Some honest officers, too, made heavy seizures in the regular and proper discharge of their duties, in consequence of the information given to them by the parties interested in presenting these frauds.

The importers form a large and—on account of their wealth & business connections—a very influential body of men; having several of the leading presses in New York city under their control. The elections of 1840 were drawing near; and they determined to make an effort to screen themselves from censure by connecting their cause with politics. Suddenly they were filled with overflowing zeal for the success of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." They accused the Loco Foco administration of "persecuting" them, and endeavoring to break down the commerce of the country. The manufacturers & the Boston importing merchants were charged with instigating the legal prosecutions, and with bribing the Custom House officers to make the seizures of their goods in defiance of law. It was a sad poser, to be sure, that the courts of the United States condemned them, and justified all the seizures. And when the accession of Harrison failed to arrest these "interferences with their legitimate profits," a new measure was determined upon to throw all the blame of their sins upon the manufacturing interests of New England, whose regard for their own pockets had led, in the first instance, to the detection of the importers' frauds. Most of the Custom House men were very willing to have dust thrown into the eyes of the public, by directing attention to any thing, rather than their own greasy hands.

Here comes in another piece of curious political history. Gov. Poindexter, when Harrison came into power, came on to solicit the appointment of Envoy to Mexico. The death of Harrison defeated his hopes. He then, to the astonishment of the people who did not know the man, published his adherence to Tyler, certifying that the "expiring" notwithstanding his sins against Whiggery, was a true Whig. The reward was speedy. The importers and custom house men decided to get up a White-washing Committee of Investigation, and got the President to put Poindexter at the head of it. Whether they had first ascertained his good disposition to lend himself to their views, this the deponent saith not. A very worthy, passably honest man, Michael Kelly of your State, was associated with him. One Bradley, and afterwards, in his stead, Robert Stewart of Md., was afterwards added as an umpire between the two. The commissioners speedily quarrelled, and Poindexter finally drove the others away by his arrogant course towards them.—He was for relying on the testimony of the foreign importers in their own favor. The other commissioners, deeming this very suspicious testimony, leaned to the side of the revenue officers, and the Manufacturers. After most suspicious delays, indicating a manifest wish on the part of Tyler to keep back the results of these inquiries, and use them for his own purpose, the several reports have at last been communicated to the House.—Both of the old parties profess to believe that their contents will be such as to cover their brassy faces with the blush of shame; a very desirable result, certainly.—For they have enough to be ashamed of, and a returning sense of shame would be a hopeful sign of a capacity for repentance. Poindexter's report, after months of intentional delay, was obtained by a Committee of the House, under process of Sergeant at arms, which was a very questionable exercise of power. Wise, in his bombastic way, declared that the report would be the most powerful anti-tariff document of the Session.—Friday and Saturday we had a fierce sparring on the subject, for several hours, in the course of which Mr. Adams made a very severe reply to the assaults on the integrity of our Yankee manufacturers. The matter will soon come up again, and be the battle ground of a deadly warfare. May the combatants fare the same as the Kilkenny cats! I love to see these old parties expose each other's rottenness. It opens the eyes of the people, and saves the Liberty Party the trouble and odium of a great deal of necessary, but dirty work.

An old private claim, of 20 or 25 years standing, has also occupied a good deal of time. I refer to it as a sample of several other impudent demands upon Uncle Samuel's pockets. Some men in Virginia contracted to build a fort for the Government. They employed contractors to do the work, got their own pay, and then failed. Under the peculiar insolvent laws of Virginia they prefer the claims of certain classes of creditors, the sub-contractors lost all their labor, and very modestly ask the government, which once paid the only men known to it, in the business for the whole work, to pay them also. This claim is a large one, and has been urged with much zeal, as a precedent. It was rejected on Saturday last, by a large vote.

Mr. Botts has not made his threatened movement against the abolition reporters, whose "insolence" was so offensive to this "high functionary." As the Locomotives have carried Virginia, at the elections last week, by a decided majority, it is thought he will come back timid enough to eat ten penny nails; and he must have vent upon some unoffending class of persons. Like all true cowards, he may select the abolitionists, because they have the fewest friends to defend them from his assaults. The "chivalry" of the rabid slaveholders, properly understood, is little else but effeminism and cowardice, both of which I have seen very abundantly displayed during this Session.

The Senate have been engaged, most of the week past, on the Appropriation Bill, and made nearly fifty amendments to it, some of them very good ones, while others are so obnoxious that its final passage may be delayed another week by them. The provisions added by the House to cut down the salaries and expenses of the New York and Mississippi Circuit and District Courts, and the reduction of the general expenses of the Judiciary were stricken out. Considerable sums have been added for the Boston and New York custom Houses; and for many other objects, some of them matters of considerable importance. They will probably pass the bill to-morrow.

I am not sure whether I referred in my last letter to the Bill to confirm the titles of certain persons to lands, derived from the Choctaw Treaty of "Rabbit Creek," in 1830. This is another of those many cases of fraud upon the Indians by which our whole intercourse with them has been so deeply and darkly stained. Large reservations of valuable lands were made for the Chiefs. These, by various fraudulent tricks have passed

into the hands of white inhabitants of Mississippi and others. The Legislature of that State recently passed resolutions urging Congress to confirm their titles to their ill-gotten gains. The claimants ask the same thing, or else, that Congress should pay them the value, something less than \$2,000,000. As it is a matter of course to cheat the Indians, the Bill probably to confirm the titles will probably pass with some restrictions to guard the rights of the Indians, which will be of no value to them whatsoever.

Your Mr. Senator Allen has been striving every nerve to get the Senate to act on a resolve designed to commit the Senate on the subject of the Rhode Island controversy. But in vain. The most of the Senators, while they sympathize heartily with the revolutionary party in their objects, can lead no countenance to the assertion of the right of revolution, lest so dangerous an example should go South, & find too many willing and prompt imitators! So Mr. Tyler, and all the good whigs and locos are fast friends of the aristocracy of the landholders and their eldest sons, which has so long ruled that gallant little State, under the Charter of King Charles.

The resolves of Mississippi in favor of a Union with Texas, and against a National Bank, protective tariff, and national debt, were laid before the Senate on Wednesday. The action of Congress on the Texas question will probably be urged before the close of the Session, though Mr. Adams' great speech, week before last

POETRY.

For the Philanthropist.
The Fugitive.

What means you fairly like and lonely bark,
So swiftly bounding o'er the waters dark
Of beautiful Ohio's tranquil breast,
Like timid bird just fled from its nest?
Now gently tips the wave the dripping oar,
Now plunges deeper than before,
While at each upward stroke a shower bright
As orient pearls beneath the moonlight
Is sprinkled round. The boat with stealthy oar,
Glides swiftly on and nears Virginia's shore—
But starts again, with rapid bound,
For watchers now are prowling all around,
Beneath the hill that skirts the river side,
And o'er the waters flings its shadow wide,
It drifted down the stream until a cove
Formed by a mountain brook, hid by a grove
Of tall dark forest trees appeared in view,
Vibrated by lush, and; and thither flew
The strange and tiny boat, now hid from sight
By clustering vines which shut out 'e'en the light
But stranger still, two maidens from it spring
And moor the skiff beneath the covert wing,
Of weeping willows drooping in the wave
As bending o'er some wood-nymph's lonely grave;
And as they stopped to breathe the cooling air,
Each maiden seemed an Ellen Douglas there,
With glowing cheek and anxious listening ear,
And scanning eye that spoke of banished fear,
Why are they there in that wild place, so lone
That wood-lark moss across the path has grown?
'Tis mercy's angel bids them onward speed,
A weary, humbled, starving slave to feed.
He was a slave, but cast away the chain,
Preferring rather exile's lingering pain,
To find him somewhere in the rocky glen,
With baskets on their arms they sought him then,
And off as greet their ears the distant sounds
Of watching sentinels upon their rounds,
They stop and listen till the echoes die,
Then with a quicker step they onward fly,
Through forest-glade and round the hill-side steep,
Where silent nature slept the deathlike sleep,
That soon must wake with sounds of conflict new,
Between God's freeman and his nature true,
And those who dare to crush a heart so bold,
Then bound their bates of a soul for gold.
They found him not, and in a saddened mood,
Placed in a hollow log for him the food,
And breathed with yearning hearts the silent prayer,
That Heaven might guide his wandering foot-steps there.
Then fearful lest some jealous eye was near,
As voices from the forest met the ear,
They slowly strode along with careless air,
Each plucking flowers to deck the other's hair,
And raising laughter wild and joyous note,
Until they reached the cove and gained the boat—
And landed once again on freedom's soil,
The throbbing of each heart repaid its toil.
Such are Ohio's fairer ones I ween,
When mercy prompts, or duty's path is seen;
Alas! that now it should have been in vain,
That noble slave who would not wear a chain,
Was doomed to fall unaided—not unwept,
And God the record of his wrongs has kept.

For the Philanthropist.

"We could not be a slave,"
He was a giant mind and in that soul,
Withering with anguish, brooding no control,
There burned a spark of intellect's bright fire,
Kindled by God and never to expire,
Too proud, that spirit, daring, bold and high,
To wear the chain of slavery with a sigh;
Though in a tyrant's power, with none to save,
His heart rebelled, he could not be a slave.
With cold contempt he moved among the wrong
Who knew no higher doom than slavery's wrong,
And bitter scorn would curl his lip the while,
For one he called his master, with a smile,
'Twas e'er the hour of midnight and the slave
Started with purpose deep; solemn and grave,
He stood a moment, gazed with unguished look
On those he'd loved from childhood—when he took
One last farewell of kindred, friends and all,
Muttering freedom, or freedom's death, my pall.
The memory of a thousand cruel wrongs
Deep rankled in his breast, and busy throngs
Of wakened passions, calling for redress
He bade be still, and nobly did repress.
'Twas not revenge he sought, but freedom's boon;
And though the night was dark, and hid the moon,
He fled; and guided by the northern star,
His bosom swelled, for liberty was there.
The morning came, and with it blankness there,
To those who held with tyrants' cruel sway,
A scepter, not alone o'er flesh and blood,
But crushed the immortal mind, part of his God.
Now mingled sounds in wild confusion clash,
And furious horse-men o'er the highway dash;
While well trained blood-hounds through the bye-paths
Fly—

"The wretch! dead or alive," the starting cry,
What human arm can save him in this hour!
O, Heaven! pray shield him from their maddened power!
Ha! wherefore starts he from his rocky bed?
In that dread sound he hears a human tread!
Now crouching low amid the tall rank grass,
He hears their muttered curses as they pass,
Again he breathes, again the curdled blood
Comes to his heart, thus ebb the living flood,
One piercing glance around he madly throws—
His spirit yet untamed by bitter woes,
Soars on, nor rests nor stays its rapid flight
Till sheltered by the power of Britain's might.
Beneath the guarded hill his fowlen lay,
Where proud Ohio sweeps its onward way,
And hope, and dark despair alternate rise.
Three weary days and nights have sped their round,
Nor other food the famished man has found,
Than berries wild, plucked 'neath some covert nook
Or insect small caught from the mountain brook.
And think they thus to catch that spirit bold,
Who buy and sell the immortal man for gold!
In vain its conquering power may famine try,
Than yield, that negro now would rather die.
The sun had passed its zenith far, and thrown
Its shadows cross the ravine where alone,
Yet like the hunted lion, desperate, calm,
He seeks a covert from the impending storm.
No sound is heard nor sign of coming harm,
The wind is hushed, nor raises one alarm;
Nor Africa's son such long suspense could brook
But, gnawed by hunger, his lone bount forsook,
And gliding fast with cautious step around,
The wooded hillside gained and soon had found
Wild autumn fruits, which to his fainting heart
As drinking seemed, a prince might crave a part.
Perched, 'neath a burning sun to desert sand,
So met that ripe fruit tasted to the slave
And strengthened him—it grew on freedom's grave!
But now he stands and lists, with upturned eye—
A rustling leaf tells it of watchers nigh—
'Tis past, 'tis gone, and silence reigns around,
And e'er he smiles at fancies far and found.
A wild exulting shout then clef the air,
As though a thousand spirits of despair,

Had broke their prison-bands in triumph new,
And echoing hail proclaimed the victory true,
One look of deep despair—then spoke his eye
The full resolve to conquer or to die,
Fierce was the conflict, dreadful was the strife
For liberty was sweeter far than life.
'Twas desperation nerved him in that hour,
And frenzied madness heeded not their power.
In wonder then they stood, for his own might
Unarmed had vanquished five in single fight.
They arm, unite, and with one mighty rush
O'erpower the slave, and hope forever crush.
Despair and anguish stamp that haughty brow;
His limbs are feeble as an infant's now;
In vain the clanking chain grates in his ears—
No other thought, no other sound he hears;
Than this dread sentence freezing every nerve,
'A miner's slave chained 'neath the ground to serve,
Nor once through life these eyes shall see a ray
Of rising moon, or beam of setting day.
'Twas winter's night, and in his cold cell,
To rise no more, a tyrant's slave he felt;
No friend is near and he is dying now.
Who'll wipe the clammy sweat from off his brow?
That form is bent, defaced by cruel scars
And stripes "the slave's inheritance," he bears:
Despair and pride had on his vitals fed,
His noble heart was broken, reason fled,
And e'er a month had coursed its sluggish round,
He was a maniac chained beneath the ground.
Life's low expiring lamp relights a ray
Of intellect, and Ah! he strives to pray;
To God and Heaven he lifts his streaming eyes
Where sacred freedom reigns, then gasps and dies.
Great God of Heaven! stay thy lifted hand,
Let not thy vengeance crush our guilty land;
O bid our nation, dyed in slavery's blood,
And steeped in slavery's tears, a living flood;
To cry to thee, with agonizing prayer,
And humbled soul, thy threatened lot to spare;
O teach us now to bow each stubborn knee
Wash in thy blood and let the oppressed go free.

The following lines on West India Emancipation
from the pen of Lord Morpeth, who is now on a visit to
this country.

ODE ON THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Proudly on Cressy's tented world
The Lion flag of England flew;
As proudly gleamed its crimson fold
O'er the dun heights of Waterloo:
But other lyres shall greet the brave,
Sing now that we have freed the slave,
The ocean plain, where Nelson bled,
Fair Commerce plies with peaceful oar,
Dutious o'er Britain's climate to shed
The gathered spoil of every shore;
To-day across the Atlantic sea,
Shout, shout ye, that the slave is free.

And Eloquence, in rushing streams,
Has flowed o'er halls and courts along,
Or kindled yet loftier flames
The glowing burst of glorious song:
Let both their noblest burthen pour,
To tell that Slavery is no more.
Bright Science, through each field of space,
Has urged her mist-dispelling car,
Coy Nature's hidden reign to trace,
To weigh each wind, and count each star:
Yet stay, thou proud Philosophy,
First stoop to bid Mankind be free.

And Freedom has been long our own,
With all her soft and generous train,
To gild the lust of the throne,
And guard the labors of the plain;
Ye heirs of ancient Runnymede!
Your Slaves—O could it be!—are freed.
Ah! for the tale the slave could speak,
Ah! for the shame of Britain's sway,
On Africa's sands the maddened shriek,
'Neath Indian suns the burning day:
Ye sounds of guilt—ye sights of gore—
Away! for Slavery is no more.
'Mid the dear haunts of Force and Strife,
The Ministers of Peace shall stand,
And pour the swelling words of Life
Around a parched and thirsty land;
While spread beneath the tamarind tree,
Rise, "happy homes and altars free."
Ye tales that court the tropic rays,
Clustered on Ocean's sapphire breast,
Ye feathered bowers, ye fairy bays,
In more than fable now "the Blest"
Waft on each gale your choral strain,
Till every land has rent the chain.
O England! empires' home and head,
First in each art of peace and power,
Mighty to rule the battle-brow—
Mightier to retrieve and save,
Rejoice that thou hast freed the Slave!

For the Philanthropist.

1st. That abolitionists are verily guilty concerning our brothers and sisters in chains. "We the people" have covenanted and leagued together to keep them unchanged, and uncondemned of crime, in the prison house.
2d. We may adopt no measure in reference to slaveholding which we would think wrong to apply, were we placed as they are. Query, were we circumstanced as they are, having the same constitutional guarantee for the peculiar chattel, would we think it even handed justice in those who declared only for constitutional means to entice away the slaves?
3d. Should we not first try to adopt the constitutional means of an alteration of the constitution, so as to get ourselves out of the sin of slavery and of its support?
4th. Should we not well consider whether we will take any of the steps of revolution before we openly declare for it?
5th. Is the public mind prepared in the free states for revolution? I well know that feeling for the slave, the abridgment of the right of petition, of the press and of the liberty of speech is very past preparing it for such an event; but so it is not yet.
6th. In case the North would draw off, would not the result prove fatal to the whites of the South. Some of the slaveholders during the discussion in the case of Mr. Adams declared that their only safety against their slaves lay in the free states.
7th. In such case would not many of the slaves have to exchange slavery for death?
Friends, think of these things in the spirit of meekness and fear, lest we err, and may we all come together in the truth, which alone can give desirable freedom!

S. WALKER.

GRAND RIVER INSTITUTE.

It is situated in Austintown, Ashtabula county, Ohio—Its object is to promote through Physical, Intellectual, Moral and Religious education. By combining manual labor with the training of the mind, it aims to make practical, vigorous scholars.
It is open for the admission of students of both sexes—Applicants are expected to be at least fourteen years of age to furnish satisfactory testimonials that they possess a good moral character; and that they are sufficiently acquainted with the elements of Orthography, Reading, Writing, English Grammar, and Arithmetic, to enter upon the following course of study with advantage, which, when fully completed, will occupy a term of four years, both in the English and Classical departments. Individuals will be received to advanced standing when able to pass satisfactory examination.

COURSE OF STUDY.

English Department.
First Year.—English Grammar, including analysis of Poetry; Colburn's Mental and Adams' Arithmetic; Modern and Ancient Geography; Geography of the Bible; and New's Biblical Annals.

Second Year.—Natural Philosophy; Watts on the Mind; Physiology; Book-keeping; History and Algebra.

Third Year.—Newman's Rhetoric; Barlett's Geography of the Heavens; Geometry; Gray's Chemistry; Intellectual and moral Philosophy, and Botany.

Fourth Year.—Willard's Universal History; New's Moral and Political Economy; Logic; Natural Theology; Butler's Analogy; Trigonometry and Surveying.

Classical Department.
First Year.—Review of the English Studies; Andrews' and Stoddard's Latin Grammar; Andrews' Latin Reader; Andrews' Latin Exercises; Caesar's Commentaries, begun; Sophocles' Greek Lessons and Greek Grammar.

Second Year.—Caesar's Commentaries, completed; Jacob's Greek Reader; Anthon's Cicero; Andrews' Latin Exercises and Sophocles' Greek exercises.

Third Year.—Cooper's or Gould's Virgil; Selections from the Greek Poets; select portions of the Greek Testament; Algebra, begun; Review of some of the preceding studies.

Fourth Year.—Livy; Xenophon's Cyropaedia; Cicero de Amicitia and de Senectute; Homer's Iliad, begun; Algebra, completed, and Geometry.

In the Classical Department exercises in translating Greek and Latin into English and the contrary, with special reference to the idioms of these languages, and to elegance and smoothness of diction will be frequently prescribed and varied according to the standing and attainments of the pupils.
A constant use of Anthon's Classical Dictionary, Eschenburg's Manual of Classical Literature, Butler's Ancient Atlas and similar books of reference will be enjoined; and attention to them elicited by stated and frequent exercises, which require the use of such books. Much pains is taken to provide for those pursuing Classical studies such works as are best calculated to illustrate the literature of the ancients, and to awaken in the minds of students a proper interest in its beauties; while at the same time the influence of the religious superstitions of those pagan nations on the morals and usages of the people is carefully pointed out, and contrasted with the purifying tendencies of Christianity.

There are stated exercises in Declaration, Forensic Discussions and Composition for students in both Departments, also a regular course of Biblical instruction. There are also weekly lectures upon moral and religious subjects, or upon some of the topics embraced in the preceding course, which all the students have the privilege of attending.

The course of study here presented has been adopted after due deliberation, and extended observations and inquiries respecting the wants of the human mind. It will be seen at once that it cannot be sustained without constant aid from the friends of intelligence, virtue and religion. The hand of charity has indeed been liberally opened to furnish land & buildings, and to meet other expenses incident to the starting of such an enterprise. But to carry out all the plans of the founders of the Institute, and to meet the expectations of its friends will afford a broad field for the exercise of benevolence. Funds are wanted to enlarge the Library, which now contains about five hundred volumes; to procure Chemical and Philosophical apparatus; to pay the tuition of indigent, pious students; and to furnish more extended facilities for prosecuting manual labor. From \$20 to \$30 a year in addition to the avails of his own industry will support a student here, who is industrious and enterprising. How many parents, how many benevolent individuals, how many churches, will furnish the aid necessary to sustain one or more students?

There are accommodations in the public buildings, and in the neighborhood for about one hundred students, with some of the teachers board in commons. Rooms for young Gentlemen are furnished with stoves and beds; and for young Ladies with tables, chairs, and washstands in addition. Four experienced teachers are constantly employed in the care and instruction of the students. The government of the Institute is kind and parental, depending mainly for support upon the moral sense and intelligence of the government. No exertion is spared to make it a pleasant home for those who have a thirst for knowledge, and who are willing to labor for its attainment. There are two terms in the year, the first commencing the middle of August, the second the first of March, at which times it is desirable students should enter, as most of our important classes are then formed; the father had spent all his time at other times, if prepared to enter classes already existing.

The expenses for board, instruction, room rent, and incidentals, including use of library, also instruction in vocal music are for males \$65 and for females \$60 a year. From one half to three-fourths of this expense is ordinarily paid from the avails of from two to three hours daily labor, needed to secure health and physical vigor, and without impeding at all either intellectual or moral improvement. A few have indeed succeeded in defraying all their expenses from the avails of their own skill and industry. No individual therefore who is worth educating, need fail for want of an opportunity. The tuition for each term is expected in advance.

Subscriptions are now before the public to obtain aid in procuring Chemical and Philosophical apparatus, and to assist indigent pious students in paying their tuition. Materials for clothing, Books, and Geological specimens which are of these objects are requested to direct to *Augustine J. Smith*, Treasurer of the Institute. Provision is already made for paying the tuition of a few indigent, pious students of tried established character.

L. BISSILL, Secretary.

FOR SALE CHEAP!
"Cause and Cure of Infidelity." By Rev. David Nelson, of Quincy, Ill. Any individual wishing this work can have it by application to the subscriber. Third edition, published by the American Tract Society.
D. D. NELSON.
Walnut Hills, Lane Seminary, O., Oct. 5, 1841.

WEDDING CAKE MANUFACTORY,
FANCY CAKE STORE,
AND WHOLESALE AND RETAIL
CONFECTIONARY.
Fifth st., 5 doors East of Vine, North side.

The subscriber having succeeded to the business of J. A. Barnett, respectfully invites his friends and the public in general to his display of Christmas, New Year cakes and Confectionaries, begs leave to inform them that all attention will be paid to their orders, and the same punctually executed.
SAMUEL A. ALLEY.
December 22nd, 1841.

NOTICE—MILK—MILK

We are now prepared to inform our friends that we still continue to supply this City, with Milk on the six day principle, omitting the Sabbath, and have made permanent arrangements to continue it. All persons willing to sustain us, are requested to send their names and residence to the Office of the Philanthropist.

C. M. MERRELL,
N. H. MERRELL.

Messrs. WOODSON & TINSLEY, House Carpenters and Joiners, near the corner of Eighth and Broadway, Cincinnati, feeling grateful for their patronage since the association as a firm, inform their friends and the public that they are prepared to do all kinds of House Carpenter and Joiner's work at the shortest notice and on the most reasonable terms.

WOODSON & TINSLEY.

PETERS' PILLS.

WE HAVE TRIED DOCTOR JES. PRIESTLEY PETERS' VEGETABLE PILLS, and have no hesitation in pronouncing them the best *Antibilious Medicine* that we have ever used in our families. We are acquainted with several families in this city who give them the preference to all other kinds, on account of their mildness, and at the same time, certainty of action.—*N. Y. Examiner.*
MORE THAN TEN MILLIONS of boxes of these truly valuable Antibilious Pills have been sold in the United States, Canada, West Indies, Mexico, and Texas, since the first of January, eighteen hundred and thirty-five.

HUNDREDS and THOUSANDS bless the day they were induced, by a friend, to try a Box of Dr. Peters' Pills.

They are in use as a Family Medicine, and all who have used them give them the preference to all other kinds, on account of their being a safe, pleasant, and easy aperient—being mild in their action at the same time; though, in their operation, producing neither sickness, griping, nor debility.

Doctor Joseph Priestley Peters,

Dear Sir—I have used your valuable Pills these last few years, in cases of Dyspepsia, Liver Complaint, and Sick Headache, and have found them in a majority of cases, the most valuable Pills I have ever used.

For Sick or Nervous Head-ache, or Bilious Fever, I would recommend *Peters' Pills* in preference to all other kinds.
R. H. ARMSTRONG, M. D.

The following from the EMINENT DOCTOR EMERSON, is considered sufficient.

I have used in my practice, these last five years, Dr. Jos. Priestley Peters' Vegetable Antibilious Pills, and consider them the BEST FAMILY MEDICINE I have ever used.

Given up to die that might be saved by Sherman's Lozenges, the best medicine in the world, and the easiest taken.

Consumption

Sweeps off thousands, yearly, in the United States, that Sherman's Cough Lozenges would cure when nothing else would even relieve. Ministers of the Gospel have added their testimony to that effect.

Coughs and Colds, neglected, lead to consumption and death, when a few of the Lozenges would effect a cure in one or two days. Try them, they are remarkably pleasant and cost but a trifle.

Over 3,000 persons have given their names within the last year as a reference of the wonderful virtues of these Cough Lozenges. They cure all recent cases in a few hours, seldom requiring more than one day to cure the most distressing ones.

The Rev. *Darius Anthony*, of the Oneida Conference, was given up as incurable, believed to be on the verge of the grave from consumption, without the hope of relief, till he tried these Lozenges. They relieved him immediately, and in a few weeks restored him to health, so that he could resume his duties as a minister of the gospel. He recommends them to all who are consumptive, or have any degeneration of the lungs, as the greatest medicine in the known world. He has witnessed their effects on several others, and always with the happiest results. He says so great a remedy through the blessing of Divine Providence, should be the common property of all, and in every family on the face of the earth.

The Rev. *Doctor Eastmond*, of this city, gave a few to a friend of his, who had been given up by a physician and friends as in the last stage of Consumption. The first Lozenge gave her considerable relief, so that she was encouraged to persevere in their use; and through the blessing of God they restored her to perfect health.

Mr. *Henry S. Barber*, of Green st., was cured of a very bad cough he suffered from several weeks, by only 5 Lozenges, when all other remedies had no effect on him, whatever.

Mr. *G. T. Matthews*, of Caroline st., suffered a year with a very bad, distressing cough, in the side, spitting of blood and all the usual symptoms of consumption. The Lozenges relieved him immediately, and in a few weeks restored him to perfect health. He says they are the greatest medicine in the world.

Mr. *J. Murphy*, 90 North st., Philadelphia, was applied to by a poor woman, whose daughter, 7 years old, had been sick for nearly 3 years; her stomach was as large as a grown person's, her arms and legs so swollen that she could not walk or help herself, although she could eat as much as two laboring men. Two celebrated doctors had exhausted their skill without any benefit; the father had spent all he could raise and was discouraged; he abandoned all idea of doing any thing more for her, and looked to death alone, to take her out of his misery. Mr. Murphy believing it a case of worms, gave her a box of Sherman's Lozenges, and in two days she returned with joy beaming in her eyes, and said the Lozenges had saved her child's life. The father had spent all he could raise and was discouraged; he abandoned all idea of doing any thing more for her, and looked to death alone, to take her out of his misery. Mr. Murphy believing it a case of worms, gave her a box of Sherman's Lozenges, and in two days she returned with joy beaming in her eyes, and said the Lozenges had saved her child's life.

The child was literally eaten up with worms—another living witness of the almost miraculous efficacy of Sherman's Lozenges.

My Poor Back

will break it! It is so weak, and pains me constantly. What shall I do? Get one of Sherman's Poor Man's Plasters, with his name on it, and it will cure you in a few hours, as it did Mr. Hotie.

Sherman's Poor Man's Plaster.

The best strengthening Plaster in the world, and a sovereign remedy for pains, or weakness in the back, limbs, side, breast, neck, limbs, joints, rheumatism, lumbago, &c. &c.

Several persons have called at the warehouse, to

express their surprise and thanks, at the almost miraculous cure these plasters have effected.

Jos. W. Hoxie, Esq., who had been so afflicted with rheumatism, was enabled to dress himself without assistance, was enabled after wearing one, only one night, to get up in the morning with joy, and his tongue pouring forth the gladness of his heart, at the sudden and signal relief he had received from the best of all remedies.

Mr. *David Williams*, of Elizabethtown, N. J., an old Revolutionary Soldier, was so afflicted with Rheumatism, that he could scarcely help himself—these plasters entirely cured him.

Dr. J. Peters' Pills. Large size box containing 45 pills, 50 cents per box. Small size box containing 20 pills, 25 cents per box. Dr. A. Sherman's Cough Candy's, price only 25 cents per box. Doct. A. Sherman's Worm Candy's, only 25 cents per box. Doct. Man's Plaster, only 12 1-2 cents a piece.

Agents for the sale of the above valuable medicines—Wm. H. Harrison & Harrison & Glascow, Cincinnati; A. Avery & Co. Cincinnati; Ridgeway Murphy & Co. Ripley; A. Graham & Co. Franklin Buildings, Cleveland; Watson, Druggists, Massillon. Most every merchant in the U. S., Mexico and West Indies.

VALUABLE MUSIC BOOKS.

Sold by Robinson, Pratt, & Co. New York City; by Dunig & Peck, New Haven; John Paine, Hartford; Grigg & Elliott, Philadelphia; by Truman & Smith, Cincinnati; and by Booksellers generally throughout the United States.

Twentieth Edition of *Mason's Sacred Harp*, or *Beauties of Church Music*, a new collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sentences and Chants, derived from the compositions of about one hundred eminent German, Swiss, Italian, French, English and other European musicians. Also, original tunes by German, English, and American authors, many of them having been arranged, or composed, expressly for this work. By Lowell Mason, Professor in the Academy of Music, author of Boston Handel and Haydn Collection, the Boston Academy Collection, etc., and by his brother, T. B. Mason, Professor of Sacred Music, and organist at Fourth Street church, etc.

Twentieth Stereotyped edition, revised and greatly improved by the introduction of vocal tunes not in former editions. The Elements of Vocal Music, which are on the inductive method, have been greatly extended and newly arranged in the precise order that is pursued in teaching; and the numerous practical exercises connected with each lesson, will, in a great measure, dispense with the use of the black board. The above work is now known by the general title of "*Mason's Sacred Harp*," Volume One. It is intended to make "*Mason's Sacred Harp*," the general repository of the "*Gems in Melody and Harmony*," which have heretofore been scattered through various collections. And, by collecting into a convenient volume, the old and new, choice, beautiful, standard Tunes, is a service to church choirs and singing schools, which has been already liberally rewarded. The sale of twenty editions in the short time the "*Sacred Harp*" has been before the public, and the steadily increasing patronage bestowed upon the work, is regarded as evidence that it is the very best collection of church and singing schools, and for churches of all denominations.

From numerous Recommendations the following are selected.

From the *Boston Spectator*.
We hope all will encourage "*Mason's Sacred Harp*," because we know well its merits. We hesitate not to say, that it is the best work extant.

From the *New York Evangelist*.
Mason's Sacred Harp, is what is called in the title page, a very select and improved collection of church music extant, for congregations anywhere.

From the *Baptist Advocate*.
Mason's Sacred Harp—The lovers of Sacred Song will find a rich treat in this new collection. No one man in our country has done so much for church music as Lowell Mason. He has given us the "*Boston Handel and Haydn Collection*," the "*Choir or Union Collection*," the "*Boston Academy Collection*," etc., all valuable works, and entitled to the extensive patronage which has been bestowed upon them; but it is to say, that the "*Sacred Harp*" has not an equal in the English language. This book is a volume of "*Gems in Melody and Harmony*," Every denomination will promote devotional Psalmody by adopting this collection as the standard of church music.

From Mr. Billings, Professor of Sacred Music.
Mason's Sacred Harp is the most complete, interesting and useful collection of Psalm and hymn tunes we have ever seen. It is emphatically sacred music. I will encourage its general introduction.

From the *Journal*.
We are familiar with all of *Mason's* publications, and have carefully examined the *Sacred Harp*. The volume is composed of very beautiful melodies, and harmonies of almost unequalled richness. It may justly be entitled "*the beauties of music*." The tunes are admirably adapted to the effective expression of piety, a circumstance upon which the happiest effect of *Christian Psalmody* depends. The work is particularly recommended to those whose object it is to suit music to the words sung, or to make music subordinate to sentiment, and thus eminently conducive to devotion.

From Mr. Hamilton, Director of music in the Methodist Church, Wheeling.
I should be much pleased to see it in general use—the music will please and improve the hearts of the singers. The tunes are well suited to the different variety of psalms, and it is a desirable collection for churches and schools.

Just Published.
Vol. II.—*Mason's Sacred Harp*, or *Beauties of Church Music*—Vol. II. contains old, new, and original Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Sacred Songs, Duets, Solos, Quartets, etc., etc. This volume does not contain a single tune found in the first volume, but a complete and independent book of itself, and will be sold separately. It is stereotyped from entirely new type of great beauty and perfection, procured expressly for it. The object in publishing an additional volume, is to furnish an extended variety as regards style, metre and adaptation to the various wants of the lovers of Church Melody. It will be found permanently useful, and it is hoped will receive a patronage in some degree commensurate with the varied talent, labor and expense that have been employed in its production.

The following notices of the work will show the estimation in which it is held by good musicians.

From a Report of the Committee of the "*Eclectic Academy of Music*" on Music, published and unanimously adopted by the Government and Members, March 24th.

"The *Sacred Harp*, Vol. II, has been carefully examined by your committee, who cannot but regard it as possessing in an eminent degree that chaste, classic beauty of melody, and richness of harmony, which constitute the "*lozenge of music*," and which cannot fail to render it a standard work."

It is confidently believed that the efforts made by the Editor to furnish (in THE SACRED HARP) an extended variety of good *Church Music*—such as will be permanently useful and interesting, will receive the approbation of Churches, Choirs, and Singers generally.

C. R. FOLGER, Sec'y. of the Academy.

From the "*Handel Musical Society*," of W. R. College, Hudson.

THE SACRED HARP, VOLUME II, merits our highest approbation, and is a rich addition to our Library. Its introduction into the society has confirmed the belief that it will prove an important means of advancing Sacred Music. It would be but justice due the successful efforts of the authors to say, that the two volumes of the *Sacred Harp*, constitute the best collection ever published.

By order of the Society, W. S. BARBER, Sec'y.

[From the Observer].

Mason's Sacred Harp, or *Beauties of Church Music*, Vol. 2nd.—We hesitate not, most confidently to recommend this as a book of extraordinary merit, one of the best, if not the very best collections of Church Music ever issued from the American press. It will be held in high esteem by the admirers of taste, scientific accuracy, and fine discrimination in the adaptation of music to sacred poetry. Mr. Mason has evinced a knowledge of intimate dependence of Melody upon Harmony, an important principle to often disregarded in American publications. It is a volume of Sacred Melodies, with rich, beautiful and classical harmonies, combining that striking purity and solidity of style, for which German musicians are, perhaps, more peculiar than any others. The beautiful typography of the work will speak for itself.

From Mr. Allen, Professor of Sacred Music in Oberlin College.

For a few years past, we have made selections for Church Music from the "*Sacred Harp*," Volume I. I have ever esteemed it a beautiful collection, comprising a great variety of chaste and approved tunes in all the usual metres.

Several persons have called at the warehouse, to

Vol. II.—I approve most fully: your plan of publishing new selections, and arrangements in successive volumes, by which purchasers are relieved from the necessity of repeatedly buying the same music. The melodies are exceedingly sweet and tasteful—the lyrics, many rich, flowing and impressive. It should, in all *Church* which are somewhat advanced, especially in those will secure to the publishers an extensive patronage; and I shall do what I can to extend its circulation.

FAIRMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

A delightful Country Seat, situated upon a McAdamized road, half a mile from town, in a excellent neighborhood, with 5 acres of land; a frame house containing 3 rooms, a hall, a piazza, a porch and 3 cellars; also a good cistern and a spring. The grounds are well planted with peach, apple, pear, quince and plum trees, and embellished with shrubs and evergreens.

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